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THE BASIS OF AN ANGLO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING.

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THE American people wisely attach great importance to Washington's Farewell Address, and give deserved weight to his counsels. Not one of those counsels has been more influential and more safe-guarding than his admonition to his countrymen to avoid entangling alliances with European nations. Yet Americans must not forget that changes wrought by human progress make inapplicable in one century advice which was wise in the preceding century; that if there be peril to a nation in recklessly advancing along strange paths to an unknown future, there is also danger to a nation in fastening itself too firmly to its past traditions, and refusing to itself permission to recognize changes of conditions which necessitate changes of policy. It is because Spain adheres to the traditions of the Sixteenth Century, and England has from time to time departed from those traditions, using them as a guide toward the future, not as a prohibition to progress, that Spain has sunk from a first-class to a fourth-class power, while England still remains a leader among the nations of the world.

When Washington issued his Farewell Address, the United

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States was a feeble nation, composed of thirteen colonies, just emancipated from foreign domination. It took as many weeks to go from the northern to the southern border of this nation as it now takes days. The States had not yet been welded into a united nation, and were separated from one another not only by time and distance, but by jealousy and rivalry. The union of the States had not passed beyond the experimental stage. The Constitution of the United States was still on trial. All west of the Alleghanies was an untrodden, and for the most part unknown, wilderness. The population, even along the seaboard, was scanty; the cities were few and small; there was no commerce and little manufactures. In 1809 Jefferson presented to the country his ideal on the subject of manufactures and commerce:— "Manufactures sufficient for our consumption, of what we raise the raw material, (and no more); commerce sufficient to carry the surplus produce of agriculture beyond our own consumption, to a market for exchanging it for articles we cannot raise, (and no more)." A vast and little known and little travelled ocean separated us from Europe. Under these circumstances to engage in European strifes, to aid France against Great Britain, to concern ourselves with the balance of power, to undertake, directly or indirectly, to promote the battles of democracy in the old world, to assume to judge that our as yet unproved institutions were the best for countries other than our own, and to rush into the hazard of a foreign war by the unrestrained expression of our sympathies with democratic uprisings would have been foolish indeed. These were the entangling alliances against which Washington admonished his countrymen, and we may say that his admonition against such entangling alliances it were well for us to heed, if necessity should arise, even now.

But since Washington's Farewell Address the world has moved; and America has moved most rapidly of all the world. It takes us little, if any, longer to cross from our eastern seaboard to Europe's western seaboard than from our eastern to our western boundary. The cable enables us to converse with Liverpool as readily as with Chicago or San Francisco. The prices of wheat in Liverpool determine the prices in our produce exchanges. Commerce, though unfortunately under foreign flags, is carrying the produce of our country into all the markets of the world. Our manufacturers compete with those of the oldest

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civilizations. The question whether we can establish a currency of our own, disregardful of the financial standards of the civilized world, has been raised and answered emphatically in the negative. Our territory has extended until it nearly equals in dimensions that of the Old Roman Empire in its palmiest days. Our population has not only increased in numbers, but become heterogeneous in character. We are no longer an Anglo-Saxon colony, emerging into state-hood. We are Scandinavian, German, Hungarian, Pole, Austrian, Italian, French, and Spanish; all the nations of the earth are represented, not only in our population, but in our suffrages. Whatever interests Norway and Sweden, Holland and Belgium, Germany, Italy, France or England, interests our people, because from these countries respectively multitudes of our people have come. Meanwhile, our growth, and still more the test to which we have been subjected by foreign war and by civil war, have done much to demonstrate the stability of institutions which, a hundred years ago, were purely experimental and largely theoretical. Other lands have caught inspiration from our life; the whole progress of Europe has been progress towards democracy,—whether in England, Spain, Italy, Austro-Hungary, Germany, France or Scandinavia. The difference in the history of these nationalities, during the Nineteenth Century, has been a difference not in the direction in which their life has tended, but in the rapidity with which it has moved. The yoke of Bourbonism is broken forever; the Holy Alliance will never be re-formed. Politically, socially, industrially, and even physically, the United States and Europe have been drawn together by the irresistible course of events.

We are identified with the civilized world, interested in its problems, concerned in its progress, injured in its disasters, helped by its prosperities. The time has therefore passed when the United States can say, "We are sufficient unto ourselves, we will go our way; the rest of the world may go its way." The question is not, "Shall we avoid entangling alliances?" We are entangled with all the nations of the globe: by commerce, by manufactures, by race and religious affiliations, by popular and political sympathies. The question for us to determine is not whether we shall live and work in fellowship with European nations, but whether we shall choose our fellowship with wise judgment and definite purpose, or whether we shall allow our-

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selves to drift into such fellowships as political accident or the changing incidents of human history may direct.

I am glad of the opportunity to urge on American citizens, through the pages of the NORTH AMERICAN, the former course. I believe that the time has come when we ought, as a nation, to recognize the fact that we are not merely an American nation, but a world nation; when we ought to take our place, with clear and definite understanding that we are doing so, among the nations of the world; when we ought to form clearly to ourselves our national purpose, and seek such affiliations as will promote that purpose. It is for this reason that, though I am, on principle and after much consideration, a bimetallist, I believe that the nation did wisely in rejecting the free coinage of silver, and is doing wisely in attempting to conform its currency to the currency of the other commercial nations of the globe. It is for this reason that I think Mr. Blaine proved himself statesmanlike in his organization of a Pan-American Congress, although its immediate results appear to have been comparatively insignificant. It is for this reason I think the nation should foster by appropriate measures every attempt to unite the New World with the Old, whether by cable, for the transmission of intelligence, or by commercial lines for the transmission of the products of our industry, and our mails. It is for this reason I think we ought to seize the opportunity offered to us to constitute a permanent tribunal, to which international questions might be referred, as of course, for settlement, and especially ought to have seized the opportunity for the organization of such a tribunal for the determination of national questions between Great Britain and the United States. It is for this reason I urge the establishment of a good understanding between the United States and England, in the hope that in time it will grow to a more formal alliance—civic, commercial, and industrial, rather than naval or military—and yet an alliance that will make us, for the purposes of our international life, one people, though not politically one nation. There are three reasons which suggest the wisdom of the establishment and maintenance of such good understanding and the hope of such possibly more formal alliance with our kin beyond the sea.

1. Though our commercial interests are not identical with those of Great Britain, our commercial principles are. England

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and the United States are competitors and rivals in the markets of the world; but commerce is full of demonstration of the fact that men may be competitors and rivals and yet friends and allies. What is true of men is true of nations. All that the people, either of England or the United States, ask, is a free field and no favors. We have proved ourselves quite competent to compete with any nation, if only the chance for competition is offered to us. The great amorphous, ill-organized Empire of China is dropping to pieces; Germany, France, England and Japan are all seeking ports of entry through which to push, by commercial enterprises, the products of their industry upon people hitherto so little civilized as to want but little. In this competition between foreign nations, England and Japan have stood, apparently alone, for a free and untrammelled commerce. If the official statements in Parliament may be trusted, England has won by diplomacy this commercial freedom, which perhaps Germany, and almost certainly Russia, would have been disinclined to grant. It is possible that there is no need for us to join formally in a commercial alliance with Japan and Great Britain to insist upon this principle of untrammelled commerce; but if we need not do so, it is only because there is force enough in England to secure it without our aid. In the endeavor to secure it, England is entitled not only to our sympathy but to the expression of our sympathy. She is entitled, not only to our good wishes, but to our moral support. The United States is quite as much interested as England in the opening of trade with China, if not even more interested. Our western seacoast is as yet undeveloped; our eastern trade is yet in its infancy. When the unnumbered millions of China shall wake up, when they shall begin to feel the vivifying influence of civilization, when they begin to demand railroads and telegraphs, bicycles and buggies, elevators and electric lights, cars for their streets, mills for their water-courses, agricultural implements for their farms, carpets for their floors, pianos and cabinet organs for their boys and girls, in short the conveniences and comforts of modern civilization for their awakening population, it will be alike our interest, our right and our duty to have a free opportunity to share in the work of providing them with this equipment of a higher life. What is so evident respecting China that the dullest of vision may see it, is equally, though as yet less evidently, true

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of other great unreached populations. The United States is only less interested than Great Britain in the larger life of India; and in the civilization of Africa which still seems remote, but not so remote as it did before the travels of Livingstone and Stanley, and which, when it comes, will add a new incentive to the fruitful industry of our mills, as well as of English mills, if we are wise in our statesmenship to forecast the future and to provide for it. If England and America join hands in a generous rivalry, they can lead the world commercially. On that road lies our highway to national prosperity.

2. Political advantages as well as commercial advantages call on us to establish and maintain a good understanding with Great Britain, and to be ready to formulate that good understanding in a more definite alliance whenever the occasion shall arise which necessitates it. The Cuban revolution and the consequent embroglio with Spain, threatening as I write to break out any hour into war, illustrate the difficulty of avoiding altogether collisions with foreign powers. This is the most pressing and immediate illustration, but not the only one. We have interests in Turkey which have been strangely disregarded, though not overlooked. American property has been destroyed, the peace of American citizens disturbed, and their lives threatened. Turkey is far away, and it has been difficult, perhaps impossible, so to press our claims upon the Porte as to secure satisfaction for the outrages perpetrated with its connivance, if not by its authority. The injuries to our commerce inflicted by Algerine pirates, our long endurance of those injuries and our final naval warfare against the marine marauders, are matters of familiar American history. With Americans not only traveling everywhere on the globe, but settling and engaging in business wherever there is business to be done, no one can foresee when an international complication may arise, involving strained relations between ourselves and some other nationality. It would be no small advantage under such circumstances to have established such relations with Great Britain that she would be our natural friend, would give to us her moral support, and would, perhaps, in case of exigency, lend support that would be more than moral. I am not considering in this article the practicability of such a relationship. I do not stop to discuss the question whether Great Britain would be likely to enter into it with us, or whether we should be likely to

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enter into it with Great Britain. Writing for American, not for English, readers, I do not attempt to point out the advantages to Great Britain as well as to ourselves. My object in this article is simply to show that there would be a real, a tangible, a practical advantage, one that can be measured in dollars and cents, in the establishment of such relationship between these two great Anglo-Saxon communities that they would be recognized by the civilized world as standing together in amity, making a common cause, not against the rest of the world, but in favor of the one principle to which they are alike committed, and in which they are alike interested,—the principle expressed by the one word, Liberty.

It may be assumed that the United States will never desire to encroach upon the territory of any European power; that, if it comes into the peril of war, it will be not through its desire to colonize on uncivilized territory, nor its desire to seize upon some fragment of civilized territory belonging to another nation, but from its passion for liberty; a passion sometimes exhibited in strong national sympathy for a struggling people such as the Cubans, sometimes in the strong determination to preserve the liberty of our own people, as in our war against the Algerine pirates. If England and America were thus to stand together for liberty, it would be difficult to form a combination which could withstand them so long as they were moderate, just and rational in their demands.

3. Both the commercial and the political advantages of such a good understanding, growing into a formal alliance as is here suggested, are dependent upon the moral advantage to the world which would grow out of it. It is true that in a sense the United States is neither a Christian nor an Anglo-Saxon nation. It is not officially Christian, if thereby is meant a nation which gives political or financial advantage to one religion over another. It is not Anglo-Saxon, if thereby is meant a nation which sets itself to confer political power upon one race over another. But though it is officially neither Christian nor Anglo-Saxon, it is practically both. Its ethical standards are not those of Mohammedanism, or Confucianism, but those of Christianity. Its ruling force in the country, educational, political, and on the whole commercial, is not Celtic, nor Sclavic, nor Semitic, nor African, nor Mongolian, but Anglo-Saxon. Thus in its religious spirit, though not

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altogether in its religious institutions, in its practical leadership, though not in the constituent elements of its population, and in its national history and the genesis of its political institutions, the United States is of kin to Great Britain. The two represent the same essential political ideals: they are both democratic; they both represent the same ethical ideals; they are Christian; and they both represent the same race leadership; they are Anglo-Saxon. In so far as their conjoint influence dominates the world, it will carry with it a tendency toward liberty in the political institutions organized, a tendency toward Christianity in the ethical spirit of the society created, and a tendency toward that energy, that intelligence, and that thrift which are the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race in the life promoted. *It is from the combination of these three elements in* society—political liberty, Christian ethics, Anglo-Saxon energy—that what we call civilization proceeds. And it is out of this civilization thus inspired by Anglo-Saxon energy, thus controlled by Christian ethics, and thus given opportunity for growth by political liberty that industrial prosperity, commercial wealth, and human earthly well-being are founded. Thus the moral advantages of such a good understanding between Great Britain and the United States as is here suggested, are more important than the commercial and political advantages, because the commercial and political advantages are dependent upon the moral. It is indeed impossible to separate them, except in statements and for the convenience of clear thinking. Great Britain and the United States cannot combine to promote the commercial prosperity of either nation, or the political protection of the citizens of either in communities less free than their own, except as they combine to promote that world civilization which is founded on political liberty, Christian ethics, and Anglo-Saxon energy. Let Great Britain and the United States work together for the world's civilization, and, on the one hand, no reactionary forces can withstand their combined influence; and on the other, no imagination can estimate the pecuniary and the political advantages, first to these two nations, and next to the whole world, which would come from such a combination. Whoever in either country sows discord between the two is, whether he knows it or not, the political and commercial enemy of both countries, and the enemy of the world's civilization.

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Thus far I have suggested only "a good understanding," because this is immediately practicable, yet I have in my imagination an ideal toward which such a good understanding might tend, but which would far transcend anything suggested by that somewhat vague phrase. Let us suppose, then, that Great Britain and the United States were to enter into an alliance involving these three elements: first, absolute reciprocity of trade; second, a tribunal to which should be referred for settlement, as a matter of course, all questions arising between the two nations, as now all questions arising between the various States of this Union are referred to the Supreme Court of the United States; third, a mutual pledge that an assault on one should be regarded as an assault on both, so that as towards other nations these two would be united as the various States of this Union stand united toward all other States. Such an alliance would include not only our own country and the British Isles, but all the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain—Canada, Australasia, and in time such provinces in Asia and Africa as are under British domination and administration. It would unite in the furtherance of a Christian civilization all the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and all the peoples acting under the guidance and controlling influence of Anglo-Saxon leaders, It would gradually draw into itself other peoples of like minds though of foreign race, such as, in the far East, the people of Japan. It would create a new confederation based on principles and ideas not on tradition, and bounded by the possibilities of human development not by geographical lines. It would give a new significance to the motto *E Pluribus Unum*, and would create a new United States of the World of which the United States of America would be a component part. Who can measure the advantage to liberty, to democracy, to popular rights and popular intelligence, to human progress, to a free and practical Christianity, which such an alliance would bring with it? Invincible against enemies, illimitable in influence, at once inspiring and restraining each other, these two nations, embodying the energy, the enterprise, and the conscience of the Anglo-Saxon race, would by the mere fact of their co-operation produce a result in human history which would surpass all that present imagination can conceive or present hope anticipate.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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THE INFORMERS OF NINETY-EIGHT.

BY I. A. TAYLOR.

THERE is one figure which, like a shabby and sordid Mephistopheles, is never long absent from the scene of Irish politics—the figure of the informer. Ireland has always been a country of contrasts, and especially at the close of the last century nothing is more striking than that presented by the extreme heroism of loyalty on the one side, and cold-blooded and deliberate treachery on the other; by the unshaken fidelity of men to whom a breach of faith would have signified the exchange of poverty or want for actual riches, and repeated and premeditated betrayal of trust on the part of those whose position might have seemed a guarantee of integrity. The story is well known of the escape of Hamilton Rowan, when a couple of boatmen, with the very handbills in their possession which offered a thousand pounds for his apprehension, carried him safely over to France; while on another occasion not only did three militia soldiers, condemned to death as United Irishmen, choose rather to die than to purchase life by the betrayal of their comrades, but the father of one of them, urged to use his influence with his son, declared he would shoot him himself sooner than see him turn informer.

But while these are nothing more than examples of the spirit by which a large part of the population was animated, there existed no less by the side of it the trade, systematically and unscrupulously carried on, of the informer—a trade sedulously fostered and encouraged by the English Government, and to which may be traced much of the alleged sympathy with crime and genuine reluctance to lend a hand in bringing the criminal to justice which has been so often used as a reproach against the Irish people. It is not astonishing that a people noted for its instincts of generosity should have elected to leave

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the work of government to be performed by its hired instruments, and should have shrunk from so much as a semblance of participation in the traffic.

The indiscriminate horror which was entertained with regard to those, whether innocent or guilty, who were convicted of co-operation with the natural enemies of their race—unfortunately identified with the administration of that which went by the name of justice—is curiously and signally illustrated by an incident which took place towards the end of the seventeenth century. Two sisters named Kennedy—mere children of fourteen or fifteen years old—who had the reputation of being heiresses, were carried off from their home by a gang of ruffians, to two of whom they were forcibly married. When, some weeks later, the men were caught and brought to trial, the unfortunate girls were induced to bear witness against their captors, their consent to do so being, it is said, chiefly due to a desire to revenge a brutal blow bestowed upon one of them. The result of the trial was the hanging of the men and the pensioning of their victims. But so passionately opposed was public sentiment, even in this instance, to the character of the approver, that demonstrations of hostility greeted the unhappy sisters whenever they ventured to show their faces; that when they subsequently married, the misfortunes by which one of them was pursued were regarded by the people in the light of a judgment upon her; and, stranger still, the husband of the other was infected to such a degree by the popular superstition as to imagine himself haunted by the spectre of his dead rival and never dared to sleep without a light in his room!

Another example, illustrative of the brutality engendered by the loathing of the trade, is furnished by a story told in after years by an aged lady, Mrs. O'Byrne; who remembered throughout her life—as well she might—a visit paid as a child to the Anatomical Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, for the purpose of witnessing a dance, executed by means of a system of pulleys, by the skeleton of the informer, Jemmy O'Brien. The husband of the servant who conducted her little charge to this ghastly entertainment had, it seemed, been done to death by O'Brien; and she took a grim pleasure in the show.

Taking into account this condition of public feeling, it may be allowed that the position of the paid spy was not without its

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disadvantages, and that by the more timorous their wages were not altogether lightly earned.

Among the motley crowd which went to make up the profession—men of whom Lord Moira publicly and solemnly declared that he shuddered to think that such wretches could find employment or protection under any government—every variety was present. There was the unscrupulous and cold-blooded detective, who deliberately insinuated himself into the confidence of his comrades in order to sell them to their enemies—who, to quote Curran's scathing invective, "measured his value by the coffins of his victims, and in the field of evidence appreciated his fame as the Indian warrior does in fight, by the number of scalps with which he can swell his triumphs;" there was the common informer, chosen from the lowest ranks, to whom treachery was merely a means, like any other, of gaining a livelihood; there was the gentleman of birth and breeding, in whose case conscience, or what stood for it, smoothed the path of treason and a sense of duty was made to play a leading, and gain a secondary, part; there was the artist to whom dexterity in his craft afforded positive satisfaction, and who appeared to heap lie upon lie for the mere pleasure of the performance; there were those in whom the sense of honor, not yet wholly extinct, made itself from time to time uneasily felt; and finally there were not wanting cases in which the traitor, like Judas, repented too late, and did his best to expiate his treachery. Thus an Englishman named Bird, through whose instrumentality quite a number of obnoxious persons had been committed to prison, sickened of his trade, threw it up in disgust, and published an account of his transactions with the Castle; whilst Newell, another of the brotherhood, in a curious letter to his employer, the Under Secretary Cooke, accused him, not without a touch of dramatic skill, of his own moral ruin.

"Though I cannot deny being a villain," he said, "I hope clearly to prove that I had the honor of being made one by you."

These, however, were the exceptions. The majority, and especially, curiously enough, those of education among the body, seem to have performed their task with little hindrance from a too delicate sense of honor. It was a time when, under the influence of panic and excitement, the laws commonly regulating the conduct of gentlemen were treated with strange disregard. Witness the scene in court when Lord Kingston came

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forward to give evidence against the very man to whom he owed his own safety, citing that circumstance itself as a proof of the influence possessed by his benefactor among the rebels, and eliciting a devout thanksgiving from a gentleman in the crowd that he, for his part, could be charged with having saved no man's life. Nor could a stronger instance be found than that furnished by Captain Armstrong who, with the explicit and emphatic approval of his brother officers, gained the confidence of the unfortunate Sheares brothers, acquired possession of their secrets, wound up by dining with them and their family on the eve of their arrest—a proceeding with regard to which even Armstrong himself entertained scruples, removed by Lord Castlereagh—and delivered them over on the following day to the vengeance of the government. On another occasion, too, we find an English gentleman, mistaken on the street by an United Irishman for one of the rebel leaders, not only encouraging the misapprehension in the hope of obtaining useful information, but giving ingenious expression to his regret that he was not in a position to forge the handwriting of the man whose character he had assumed. Such being the practices which were in fashion, and the prevailing indifference to the ordinary codes of honor, it was not unnatural that every one should look upon his neighbor with distrust; and it scarcely surprises one to find men acquitted by posterity of any shadow of guilt suspected by their contemporaries of treachery.

Leaving on one side, however, the lesser villains who made up the rank and file of the "Battalion of Testimony"—the name by which the body was known—there are four men who played a principal part amongst the informers of Ninety-eight who may be accepted as sufficiently representative of their profession to give a fair idea of the classes from which were drawn the government recruits. These are: Leonard McNally, pre-eminently the artist of his craft and one of the most singular figures of his time; Thomas Reynolds, the man of principles and scruples; Francis Higgins, the type of the low and successful adventurer; and lastly Magan, the Catholic barrister, driven to his crime by stress of financial difficulty, and combining with his treason an incongruous vein of uprightness.

While none of the four are devoid of interest, it is undoubtedly McNally who in this respect bears away the palm.

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In his hands treachery became a fine art, nor is it possible to withhold from him his meed of admiration.

Uniting the profession of a playwright to his other avocations, the elaboration of a plot upon the world's stage may be imagined to have contained for him a special interest; while possessing in his own person histrionic gifts of no common order, the dramatic element is strongly present in his treatment of the part he set himself, always behind the scenes, to play.

Called both to the English and Irish bars, his Nationalist sympathies had been so strong that, as a member of the United Irish body, he had fought a duel with Sir Jonah Barrington in vindication of its honor; and trusted to the full by the Nationalist leaders, of whom his house was a centre in Dublin, he was in every way qualified to become a useful government tool, when, in or before the year 1794, he accepted that office, continuing to fill it with unexampled and almost incredible success, until his death, nearly thirty years later. Before '98, through the troubled times of the rebellion itself, and afterward, he carried on his trade, wholly unsuspected till the end.

It was in his dealings with poor Jackson, that clergyman of doubtful repute, that McNally's first laurels in the field of the informer seem to have been won. A genial and sociable man—it was afterwards part of his duty to entertain the National leaders at the government's expense—he inaugurated his career by a dinner given in honor of his victim, and the success with which he eluded suspicion is proved by the will afterwards signed by Jackson in prison, "in presence of my dearest friend, Leonard McNally"; a document which was duly handed over by the latter to the authorities, so soon as that ghastly closing scene had taken place, when, on the judge proposing to defer passing sentence of death till the unconscious prisoner should be in a condition to understand it, it was found that that verdict had been already, not only pronounced, but executed in another court.

It was a successful beginning to McNally's career, and what followed was worthy of it. Again and again, as counsel for the men he had sold, he took briefs for their defense, pleading their cause with so much fervor and eloquence that on one occasion Curran himself was moved to tears. "My old and excellent friend," exclaimed the great orator, while his emotion spread to the Bench, "I have long known and respected the honesty of

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your heart, but never, until this occasion, was I acquainted with the extent of your abilities." Had Curran been in possession of the whole truth, he must have admitted that his friend's talents were even greater than he had imagined. During a period of no less than forty years not so much as an unkind look—we have his son's authority for it—passed between the two, and death found their intimacy unbroken, not a suspicion of the double part played by his colleague having crossed Curran's mind.

In the tragedy of Ninety-eight itself the share taken by McNally was less conspicuous than that of others, his services being too important to make it desirable that he should come prominently forward. His special work was carried on underground, and of the completeness, the attention to details, with which it was performed, his dealings with Robert Emmet furnish an example. Having first sold the young man to the authorities, he proceeded to undertake his defense, and having vainly pleaded his cause in court, visited his unfortunate client in prison on the morning of his execution, in order to tender to him sympathy and consolation in the hour of his supreme necessity.

The mother of the young leader was just dead, but unaware of the fact, he expressed his longing to see her.

"There, Robert," replied McNally, pointing with dramatic effect to heaven—"there, Robert, you shall meet her this day."

A description of the interview was communicated to the newspapers, doubtless by McNally himself, proud of his part in it.

His death corresponded with his life. Having passed for a Protestant, he called in a priest when the end approached, received from him the sacraments of the Church, and so squared his accounts with heaven.

Thomas Reynolds, to whom was due the arrest of the Leinster Directory in March, '98, and who is therefore to be credited with the most crushing blow dealt at the conspiracy which culminated in the rebellion, presents a signal contrast to McNally, and was totally incapable of plying his trade with the lightheartedness and the enjoyment by which the lawyer was distinguished. Reynolds, on the contrary, went about his business heavily and with an air of middle-class respectability which, with the panegyric published by his son, lends itself, perhaps unfairly, to the suspicion of cant. He was too respectable to have a right to his vices.

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And yet it is possible that he acted, in some measure at least, in good faith, nor can we but believe that Moore's dismissal of him as a worthless member of the conspiracy, pressed for money, is too summary a verdict. It would be curious could a dictionary be compiled of the synonyms invented by conscience, nor would the endeavor of the sinner to give a Christian name to his crime be destitute of pathos. Hypocrisy, dispassionately considered, is the one homage that a not inconsiderable fraction of humanity is capable of rendering to virtue, in the acknowledgement that it is more admirable than vice, nor is it well that a world, not immaculate itself in the matter of truth, should use undue severity towards those poor souls to whom the cloak has become their habitual garment.

Brought up by the Jesuits, Reynolds had started in life as a silk manufacturer, attaining, shortly before his change of front, and by means of some land leased from the Duke of Leinster, with whom he claimed distant kinship, to the position of a small country gentleman. His political antecedents were, from the popular point of view, unimpeachable, since he had been a member of the Catholic Committee, had represented Dublin in the Convention of '92, had recently been initiated into the Society of United Irishmen, though, if his son is to be credited, in ignorance of its revolutionary character, and was also—a further guarantee—married to the sister-in-law of Wolfe Tone.

This was the man who—also on his son's authority—was in '98 hailed as the saviour of his country, courted and caressed by all those not engaged in the rebellion, to whom wealth and honors were voted; but who, satisfied with having done his duty, declined them all, and who, honorable and upright public servant as he was, found himself later shaken off and discountenanced by the very persons, with one or two exceptions, by whom he had been employed; who retired to France to find consolation for their ingratitude in a small number of friends, and finally—it would seem in somewhat belated fashion—in the Friend who sticketh closer than a brother.

Thus far Mr. Thomas Reynolds, Jr., fired with filial enthusiasm. A less ornate account would describe his father as, though unquestionably an informer, not one of the lowest type, to whom treachery was a simple means of gain, but one in whose case conscience and scruples also played a part. It is undeniable

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that five hundred guineas were paid to him by government, but a careful examination of evidence tends to prove that money was not his object, and that he was one of those persons who, finding themselves—perhaps involuntarily—in possession of facts they conceive it their duty to make known, lack courage to act openly, and having laid the foundation of their future career by the initial act of giving clandestine information, continue to invite the confidence of those they have betrayed for the purpose of using it against them.

It was in November of the year 1797 that this timid and vacillating gentleman was constrained, much against his will, to accept a post of importance in the confederacy, the pressure brought to bear upon the recruit being an instance of that imprudence on the part of the leaders of the enterprise which went far to justify the assertion of an Englishman, who observed to Grattan that, if he were to rebel, it should not be in the company of Irishmen, "for, by God, they are the worst rebels I ever heard of!"

Placed forthwith in a position of responsibility in the United Irish body, Reynolds learnt for the first time, according to his own account, its revolutionary character; and afraid either to rouse suspicion by severing his connection with the association or, by remaining in it, to co-operate with its designs, he adopted the middle course, of retaining his position in the character of a government agent.

Chancing to fall in, as a travelling companion, with a Mr. Cope, "in whose friendship and honor I had the most implicit confidence"—did Mr. Cope, one wonders, reciprocate the compliment?—he was induced to make certain disclosures which ultimately led to the arrest, on the eve of the rebellion, of the Leinster Directory.

Reynolds, unlike some others of his profession, was a man of one stroke, and his services to the government seem to have been limited to a comparatively short space of time. He must, however, have developed a certain talent for meeting the difficulties of his new position, and a curious story is told by which he appears to have displayed, at least on one occasion and in the stress of danger, a presence of mind and ready audacity with which one would not have credited him. It is related that, met at midnight by Neilson, a member of the conspiracy possessed of extraordinary physical strength and an excitability bordering on

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madness, the informer was compelled by the latter, on whom some suspicion of the truth had dawned, to follow him to a dark passage in what were then the liberties of Dublin, where, presenting a pistol at his breast, he demanded of him what he should do to the villain who could insinuate himself into his confidence in order to betray him.

"You should shoot him through the heart," was Reynolds' reply, made with so much promptness and effrontery that Neilson, though his suspicions were not wholly removed, let the traitor go.

To Reynolds there must, in conclusion, be allowed the honor of having provided Curran with the opportunity of achieving a signal oratorical triumph.

"Some observations, but a few, upon the evidence of the informer I will make," said the great lawyer in the course of his speech against the Bill of Attainder brought against Lord Edward Fitzgerald after his death. "I do believe all he has admitted against himself. I do verily believe him in that instance, even though I heard him assert it on his oath—by his own confession an informer and a bribed informer—a man whom respectable witnesses had sworn in a court of justice upon their oath not to be credible upon his oath. See, therefore, if there is any one assertion to which credit can be given, except this—that he has sworn and forsworn that he is a traitor, that he has received five hundred guineas to be an informer, and that his general reputation is to be utterly unworthy of credit."

And yet, in taking leave of Mr. Reynolds, and in spite of Curran's passionate denunciation, it is impossible not to carry away an impression of respectable solidity; of regretful and reluctant treason; of a timorous sympathy with the men he betrayed, and—who knows?—possibly the answer of a good conscience.

Francis Higgins—better known as the Sham Squire—is, though too characteristic a specimen of his class and too important a member of it to be omitted from the picture, a simpler and perhaps less interesting personage than the remainder of the quartette. So far as it is possible to judge, he was a fair example of the low and unscrupulous adventurer, using whatever means came readiest to hand for the furtherance of his objects, nor are there to be traced in him any of those contradic-

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tions which confront us in such men as Reynolds or Magan, and lend complexity and interest to their characters; while his villainies were of a coarser and grosser type than those of the artistic McNally.

Born in a Dublin cellar, he began life as a bare-footed pot boy, proceeding to occupy the position of an attorney's clerk, in which capacity his powers of caligraphy were developed to such an extent that he was enabled to execute with marked success certain forgeries, by which he was represented as a young gentleman of landed property and good expectations, in the enjoyment of a post under government. Armed with these credentials Mr. Higgins sought a well-known clergyman, Father John Austin, and made known to him his desire to become a member of the Roman Catholic Church, stipulating that his conversion should remain a secret, lest his father should, on account of it, disinherit him. The good priest, profoundly touched by the disinterestedness of the young neophyte in embracing a faith still proscribed by the penal laws, fell straightway into the trap, and not only received him into the church, but on the convert presently making known his further desire to secure a wife of the true faith who might lend firmness to his frail resolutions, introduced his *protegé* into the family of a well-to-do merchant, whose daughter, with her dower, shortly passed into his possession. It is not necessary to pursue Mr. Higgins throughout the successive stages of his career, the disastrous sequel to his marriage—his wife fled from him a few days after the wedding—the action brought against him by his enraged father-in-law for cheating by means of forged documents and perjury, and his consequent imprisonment of which he made use to obtain a second wife in the person of his jailer's daughter.

It was an opening which might have been expected to tell against his advancement in later life; but the government was not fastidious in the choice of its tools. As director of the policy of the *Freeman's Journal*, of which he became proprietor, Higgins was too valuable an auxiliary to be despised; and using his position discreetly to further the ends of government, he was soon enabled to take rank as a respectable member of society, became a justice of the peace, and drove in a gorgeous chariot about the streets with which he had been so closely acquainted in earlier days. Conscience, however, gives us many surprises, and

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though one would have imagined that the Sham Squire might have deemed himself secure from its attacks, it would appear that even in the midst of his prosperity he was not exempt from disquieting reflections; and when preparing to cross St. George's Channel on a visit to England, he considered it well, before encountering the perils of the deep, to propitiate heaven by a will in which certain charitable bequests—to meet all contingencies—were distributed alike among Catholics and Protestants.

It was this person—not perhaps altogether properly classed as an informer, since he made no secret of his support of the government—who was stated by the Under-Secretary Cooke to have procured for him all the intelligence relating to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and who, in fact, suborned Francis Magan to betray him. We cannot, in conclusion, do better than to quote the words of his epitaph.

"Reader," says this remarkable production, after the enumeration of certain bequests, "you will judge of the head and heart which dictated such distinguished charity to his fellow-creatures, liberal as it is impartial, and acknowledge that he possesses that true benevolence which heaven ordains and never fails everlastingly to reward." The reader no doubt *will* judge.

Francis Magan, Higgins' tool and instrument, to whom Lord Edward Fitzgerald's capture has at last been traced, was of quite another temper. A silent, reserved, and gloomy man, he was credited by his countrymen to the last with a sense of honor which was in singular contrast to his dealings with the government, and of which he appears in fact not to have been destitute with regard to other matters. There are men who divide their lives into separate departments, and those of honesty in one relation of life may not be incapable of lying or cheating in another. Francis Magan was a signal example of such inconsistencies. A barrister, but, unlike McNally, an unsuccessful one, there is little doubt that it was by pecuniary difficulties that he was driven to pursue the trade of an informer; and in Higgins' communications to government on the subject, continual pressure is brought to bear upon the authorities with regard to the payment of certain sums, without which he doubts his capacity of bringing his subordinates up to the point of betrayal. There is something incongruous in the position of the two men —Higgins, the patron; Magan, the tool; and it is impossible to

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doubt that to the barrister, with a gentleman's education and some at least of the instincts of a man of honor, his relations with the ex-potboy, the convict and forger, must have been humiliating enough. It is also a curious fact that it appears possible that his ill-gotten gains went to discharge an obligation which a less scrupulous man might have ignored.

It is in the part played by Magan with regard to the apprehension of Lord Edward Fitzgerald that his figure alone detaches itself from the surrounding obscurity, he fell back into insignificance as soon as it was over. As a trusted member of the United Irish body in Dublin, so much confidence was placed in the taciturn and moody barrister, that it had been arranged by Miss Moore, at whose father's house the rebel leader had been secreted, that he should be transferred for greater safety to Magan's own, nor did the unsuccessful attempt of government, evidently acquainted with the plan, to seize the fugitive on his way to his fresh hiding place, suffice to open her eyes to the untrustworthiness of her confidant.

On the following morning, therefore, when Magan (who like the rest of the fraternity seems to have taken kindly to his part so soon as he was fairly launched in it), visited her for the purpose of ascertaining the reason of the non-appearance of his expected guest, she received him without suspicion, though noting his careworn and anxious aspect, natural enough in a needy man, seeing that a thousand pounds were at stake!

"I have been most uneasy," he told her. "Did anything happen? I waited up till one o'clock and Lord Edward did not come!"

Wholly unsuspicious of treachery, Miss Moore at once not only enlightened her visitor as to the occurrences of the previous night—of which he was likely enough in a position to have himself furnished her with an account—but bestowed upon him the further information he sought as to Lord Edward's present place of concealment. That very day the capture was effected; while shortly afterwards a bond of a thousand pounds, due from himself and his father, who had become insolvent, was paid to the creditors by Mr. Francis Magan.

At the time when Miss Moore related the facts, Magan's guilt had not yet been clearly proved, but her own conclusion was plain.

"If Magan is innocent" she said with the bitterness of a friend

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who had trusted and been deceived, "then I am the informer," since they two had alone at the moment been in a position to betray the fugitive.

During his lifetime his guilt was never brought home to him, and gloomy and silent as before he continued to enjoy the confidence and the esteem, if not the affection, of his fellow-citizens. In his testamentary dispositions—for he had his vein of religion and had been in the habit of bestowing liberal alms—he made careful provision, like Francis Higgins, for his future welfare. "By his will," wrote Canon O'Hanlon in later days, "he requires a yearly mass to be celebrated by all priests in this church for the repose of his soul; so that I have been praying for him once each year since I became attached to this parish, without knowing anything of his antecedents." It cannot be doubted that, had those antecedents been known to the charitable writer, he would but have redoubled the fervor of his orisons on behalf of a soul presumably so much the more in need of them; but there is a tone about his statement which almost suggests a sense of injury in having been betrayed into interceding for an informer unawares.

Human nature, in the mass, remains the same, and there is little to add to Solomon's estimate of it. What has once been possible will remain the measure of possibility till the end of time. Greed and falsehood and perfidy may wear different forms from those in which they clothed themselves a hundred years ago, but they themselves are, alas, perennial growths in this poor garden of humanity; and McNallys, Reynoldses, Higginses, and Magans are, we may be sure, plentiful enough among us, though time and opportunity may have altered the direction in which they turn their talents to account. To judge by deeds is but a crude method of valuation; it is a matter of incalculably less importance whether or no a man has sent a comrade to the scaffold than whether he would on occasion be capable of the treason: and we shall do well, before we congratulate ourselves upon having left a vice behind us, to make sure that the root from which it sprang is not alive, and as ready as ever, under equally favorable conditions, to put forth fresh shoots.

I. A. TAYLOR.

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REMINISCENCES OF A YOUNG FRENCH OFFICER.

BY MAX O'RELL.

In the year 1869, at the age of twenty-one, I left the military school with the rank of lieutenant in the French artillery.

My uniform was severe but beautiful. There was a good deal of gold on my shoulders, my sleeves and my breast, and if there had been as much in my pockets I think I ought to have been the happiest man on earth.

The proudest day of a young French officer's life is the one on which he goes out in the street for the first time with all his finery and ironmongery on, his mustache curled up, his cap on his right ear, his sabre in his left hand. All the soldiers he meets salute him, the ladies seem to smile approvingly upon him, he feels like the conquering hero of the day; he is happy, perfectly happy. And why should he not be? All seems bright before him; battles only suggest to him victories, decorations and promotions—glory in all its branches.

On that first day, for that first walk in uniform, my mother asked to accompany me, and took my arm. Which was the prouder of the two? The young warrior, full of confidence and hope, or the dear old lady who looked at the passers-by, with an air that said: "This is my son, ladies and gentlemen," laying great stress on *ladies*. "As for you, young *demoiselles*, have a look at him, but that's all, for you know that he can't possibly have you all."

Poor young officer! dear old mother! They little knew, on that September day of 1869, that, in a few months, one would be lying in a military hospital on a bed of torture, and the other would be wondering for five mortal months whether her dear and only child was dead, or a prisoner in some German fortress.

* * *

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My military career was a busy but a short one: five months in Algeria, three months in Versailles in garrison, six weeks in the Franco-German war, five pitched battles and many engagements, five months in captivity in Wesel, a fortress on the Rhine; three weeks of fighting day and night against the Communists, and eight months in a military hospital. All that in two years. Yes, it was a busy time.

It is not possible, within the limits of this article, to give a detailed account of such two years. I will content myself with relating a few incidents, culled here and there during the Franco-German and the Civil Wars of 1870-71.

* * *

At the threshold of these remarks, I should like to be permitted to pay to the French soldier my warm tribute of admiration. He is as easy to lead as a child. His cheerfulness and gay philosophy enable him to endure the greatest hardships without a murmur. All he wants is justice. When he has received his provisions, he straightway goes to weigh his meat, his bread, his coffee, his sugar, even his salt. All he wants is his due, and if he finds that he has not received short weight, he is satisfied and cheerful. A kind word from an officer will make him happy; a cigarette offered to him, if he is short of tobacco, will make a hero of him. I remember one day passing a young soldier who was being taken to the hospital. His right hand had been shot off clean. "Cheer up, my boy!" I said to him; "no more fighting for you, they will nurse you and take care of you." "Ah, lieutenant," he replied with a look pitiful to contemplate, "how am I to roll my cigarettes now?" I put a small box of cigarettes in his breast pocket. I shall never forget the expression of gratitude on his face.

In another instance, a devoted orderly was pitying his captain whose leg had just been amputated. "Don't cry, old fool," said the captain to him, "I am going to keep you, and, in the future, you will have only one boot to clean every morning."

* * *

I had the good luck to start the campaign with a good, devoted orderly, a man about forty years of age, called Rabier. He was a tailor, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a cook, and, in times of need, a man of many resources and unlimited audacity. But for him

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I should have had to go without food many a day. He was an old African soldier, and it was never with him a question of what he could do, but rather of what he could not do. His attachment and devotion to me were those of a kind parent, and he many times tended me as a kind and skilful nurse would. When, at night, I had retired under my tent, and was lying on some straw or dry leaves strewed on the ground, with a blanket over me, he would come noiselessly in, listen to find out whether I was asleep; then he would carefully tuck me in before he himself went to lie down under his own tent. With a few pieces of wood he would improvise a bedstead, and my clothes were every day most carefully examined and kept in a state that would have done honor to the best of housewives. An officer has to stand on his dignity more or less. My dear Rabier had no dignity to stand on, and, thanks to that, he many times successfully managed to scheme and get me a dinner when I had lost all hope of getting one.

I remember, one day my regiment stopped for the night in a deserted village which we reached at about four o'clock in the afternoon. All the officers were assigned to an abandoned farmhouse. The provisions had not arrived, and no one had the slightest idea how soon they would arrive. The private soldiers carried their provisions in their knapsacks. They were sure of their meals. But the officers had to rely on the arrival of the wagons. For two hours we sat in silence, about thirty of us. By six o'clock some prepared to lie down on the floor and try to sleep and forget the pangs of hunger, when Rabier, radiant, triumphant, smiling from ear to ear, entered and announced that dinner was ready. We looked at each other, speechless and unbelieving. By what miracle could dinner be ready? We repaired to a barn where, to our stupefaction, we saw, on the floor, omelettes, rabbits and chickens, filling the place with odorous perfumes. I heard, later on, that Rabier had ridden to a neighboring village and called on the mayor, stating that he was ordered by the general commanding the division to bring provisions for his staff; and he got all he asked for, the mayor even refusing to hear of any payment. Rabier was the hero of the day, and none of us had the courage to reprimand him for the manner in which he had obtained that dinner.

Poor Rabier! At the battle of Wörth, he received a bullet

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which entered his head under the chin and came out between his nose and his right eye. As he was being taken away from the battle-field, he signed to me that he wanted to speak. I went to him and placed my ear close to his mouth, when he said in a tone hardly audible: "Who will take care of you while I am away?" And I thought there were tears in his eyes. I know there were in mine. I never saw him after that. He died in the hospital.

* * *

At twelve years of age, I struck up a friendship with a young Pole, named Gojeski, who was in the same class with me at school. We became inseparable chums. Year after year we were promoted at the same time. We took our university degrees the same day, entered the military school in the same year, and received our commissions in the same regiment.

Short, fair, and almost beardless, young Gojeski was called *"le petit lieutenant"* by the soldiers, who all idolized him.

At the battle of Wörth (August 6, 1870), after holding our ground from nine in the morning till five in the evening, against masses of German troops exactly six times as numerous as our own, we were ordered to charge the enemy so as to protect the retreat of the bulk of the army corps. A glance at the hill opposite convinced us that we had been commanded to go to certain death. The colonel drew us up in battle line, picked up a Prussian helmet with his sabre, held it up high in the air, and said to us: "Forward, boys, and remember that a bullet in the back is as painful as in the chest, and it dosen't look so nice."

Down the hill we went like the the wind through a shower of bullets and shells. Our colonel was the first to fall dead. Two minutes later, about two-thirds of the regiment reached the top of the opposite hill. The rest were on the ground. We were immediately engaged in a desperate hand-to-hand fight: a scene of hellish confusion. And there, amidst the awful din of battle, I heard dear Gojeski's death-cry, as he fell from his horse a few yards from me, and I saw a horrible gash on his fair young head. He had paid France for her hospitality to his family.

I fought like a madman, seeing nothing but that dear mutilated face before my eyes. I say "like a madman," for it was not through courage and bravery. In a *mêlée* you fight like a madman—like a savage.

* * *

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Poor little Pole, he had died for France. I myself, at the age of fourteen, had shed some blood for Poland.

In 1863 the Poles tried to shake off the yoke of Russia by force of arms. All young France got excited over the struggle, and subscriptions in aid of the insurgents were started in all the French schools and colleges. I remember collecting a good deal of money in my school, and I found all the boys cheerfully ready to do without sweets or chocolate for a week or so in order to be able to give a franc, fifty centimes, or whatever they could afford, out of their little pocket allowance, for a cause that all considered a righteous one. In the eyes of a French school boy an insurrection is always a righteous cause. However, there was a tall, big boy, who not only refused to give or promise me any money, but who declared that he hoped the Russians would soon exterminate all the Poles. That was more than I could stand. In a moment I had taken off my coat, and advancing toward him with my clenched fist, I gave him a determined "Come on!" He was older and much stronger than I was, and, after a few rounds, I got the worst of it. During the struggle he managed to catch hold of my head under his left arm and tore a piece of flesh off my face. I have still a little scar under my left eye which reminds me that, at fourteen, I shed my blood for the holy cause of freedom. My adversary, however, was not allowed to rest on his laurels very long. Every boy who felt strong enough to meet him sent him a challenge, and life was made so miserable for him that, at the end of the quarter, his parents withdrew him from the school.

* * *

I was taken prisoner at the battle of Sedan, and after spending five months of captivity in the fortress of Wesel on the Rhine I returned to France, and one morning surprised my mother at home. For five months and a half she had had no news and did not know whether I was a prisoner of war or whether I had been killed. That meeting can better be imagined than described. I could only spend two days at home, as my regiment was being reorganized in Paris, and I had to rejoin it.

On the 18th of March, 1871, the people of Paris, in possession of all the armament which had been placed in their hands to defend the capital of France against the Germans, decided to make a strange use of their guns. They proclaimed the Commune

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with the view of killing somebody, their compatriots rather than nothing, and the French army, not yet reorganized, and also probably out of habit just lately contracted, retreated to Versailles, leaving Paris at the mercy of the revolutionists.

* * *

A disaster at war is not always without its humorous side, and the French army having enough reputation for bravery to stand a little joke at its own expense, I will here, in a few words, tell the story of the capture of the Château de Bécon, of which *magna pars fui*. We were some fifteen hundred braves who took part in it. On the 10th of April, 1871, we received from Marshal MacMahon the order to attack and capture the Château de Bécon, on the banks of the Seine, which castle was occupied by the Communists, who had placed on its terrace two batteries that swept everything on the road from Courbevoie to Paris. The attack was to take place during the night. Now, everyone knows that a night attack has absolutely no chance of success unless it is made by old troops, by soldiers known everyone to their officers. The French army was only just being organized after the disasters of the Franco-German war, and the regiments were quickly reorganized with soldiers just returned from captivity and with young recruits. We did not know the men now under us, and the men had little confidence in officers who had never led them under fire before. We all felt how risky the whole thing was; still we had orders, and ours was not to discuss but to go. We started at one o'clock in the morning, having to march about five miles to reach the château. We had no maps, and the rumor spread about the troops that the engineers, who were in front, did not even know where the entrance to the castle was, and that while they would look for it in the pitch dark of the night, the Communists would probably have time to annihilate our force on the road which their cannons commanded. There was no confidence in the ranks. The engineers marched in front, followed by the infantry. In the rear we were with the artillery. We advanced with great caution, the soldiers with guns ready to fire, the officers with swords in their right hands and revolvers in their left. After marching at a very slow pace for two hours and a half, we heard a great yell from the front following shots fired from the castle windows. I will not attempt to describe the scene of confusion

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that ensued, a panic of the worst description. At the rear, we shouted "*halt*"! But to stop, in the middle of the night, panic-stricken soldiers running away, why, you might as well try to stop with your umbrella the New York Empire State Express when running at the rate of sixty miles an hour. We had to retreat and return to the spot we had left two hours and a half before. Four men were killed and a dozen or so wounded, but every one of the young recruits was sure he had a bullet somewhere. On hearing of our return, Marshal MacMahon showed himself lenient. He knew what kind of troops we had under us and did not utter one angry word, but ordered us to be ready to resume the attack at daybreak. We bivouacked on the spot, took coffee and a nap, and, at six in the morning, ordered our men to march, determined now to return dead or victorious.

We told the men, although we knew nothing about it, that the engineers now had the plan of the castle, and that the capture of the place would be effected without any difficulty, and, to give them more confidence, some artillery went in front of them. There is nothing like the sight of cannon to inspire confidence in infantry soldiers. I have many times heard shouts of joy from the infantry on hearing that the cannons were near, and supporting them. "That's all right," they would yell, "the big drum is with us. Now we can play a tune."

The men marched more cheerfully than we expected. Some even began to sing, which is a great sign of confidence in marching French soldiers. We now felt we were on the road to glory. Still we advanced very cautiously. Soon we sighted the castle with its thirty or forty windows facing us. All guns were aimed at those windows to silence them at once. We saw no one appear at the windows. We heard not a sound.

We went on slowly, cautiously, every hand on the trigger. Another big shout started from the front, but a shout of joy. We looked with the glasses and saw the engineers inside the gates of the castle. We told the men that the castle was captured. All hearts felt stout, all keen to go on and to take full possession of the place. Still we went on with prudence as an ambuscade might be feared. We were now all of us inside the grounds; parties were sent to search every part of the castle; not a soul was seen anywhere. The castle was empty. While we had run away from the castle toward Versailles in the night, the Com-

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munists, after firing a few shots from the windows, had run away from the castle toward Paris, leaving their two batteries on the terrace. A messenger was dispatched to the Marshal to announce that we had taken possession of the Castle of Bécon. Nobody was decorated for it—but we were victorious and alive.

* * *

Tragedy was soon to follow this piece of light comedy. On the 14th of April my regiment received orders to attack the Neuilly Bridge, a formidable position held by the Communists. We had no cavalry to do the work, so artillery were ordered to send the cannons away and to charge the force occupying the bridge. Forty men, under my command, were chosen. I reviewed my men. One of them looked sulky. "What's the matter with you?" I said. "Why, lieutenant," he replied, "we shall never any of us come back, the job is a big one. I "should like to have a pipe before going and I have no tobacco." "Look here, old fellow," I said, "fill your pipe and have a smoke. We charge in ten minutes." I gave him my pouch. He filled his pipe and smoked. He said nothing beyond a "*thank you.*" We started by a by-street, and as soon as we appeared on the main road, 400 yards from the bridge, we made a dash. What the Germans had not done, some compatriot of mine succeeded in doing. I fell severely wounded. Out of the forty men who started, ten took the bridge, the other thirty fell dead or wounded. I was quickly picked up and taken to a house in safety by one of my men—the one whose pipe I had helped to fill. For such a small service a French soldier will risk his life, and I have always thought I owed mine to my tobacco pouch. After spending five months in the Versailles hospital and three more at Saint-Mâlo in convalescence, the army surgeons declared that I should no longer be able to use my right arm for military purposes, and I was granted a lieutenant's retiring pension.

* * *

But for that wound I should now be in the French army, perhaps enjoying the title of colonel, like most of my American friends.

But then I should never have written *John Bull and His Island,* which is a thought too awful to contemplate—for

MAX O'RELL.

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THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

BY ALVAH H. DOTY, M. D., HEALTH OFFICER OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK.

THE many ineffectual attempts made in past years to establish a National Bureau of Health at Washington have rather discouraged those who have labored with this end in view, and the matter therefore has lain dormant except at times when outbreaks of infectious disease have seriously menaced the public health. At these periods a demand is generally made on the part of the people for such legislation as will place the control of matters pertaining to the public health in the hands of the Federal government. This demand is usually made in a spasmodic and mechanical way, without any special investigation to ascertain whether or not the emergency can be properly met by the State or municipal authorities in charge, and it generally subsides after the panic is over. It certainly has never been sufficiently pronounced and lasting to furnish substantial aid in bringing about the desired result. During these periods of activity, numerous bills, the intent of which is to establish a National Bureau or Department of Health, find their way to the Senate or to the House of Representatives. Almost all of these bills are faulty in construction or impracticable and have but few supporters, and therefore are not afterwards heard from.

The yellow fever outbreak which occurred in the South during the past year has again brought this subject prominently before the public; and it is evident from the organized movements on the part of many of the important medical and commercial bodies throughout the country, that for the first time it is to receive serious consideration on the part of Congress.

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So much has been written from different standpoints relative to the national control of the public health that the lay reader particularly gains but little knowledge which is clear and satisfactory to him. I therefore wish to present the matter from the point of view of a practical sanitarian.

In order that the subject may be more clearly understood, it will be treated under the following heads:

First.—Is a National Bureau or Department of Health necessary?

Second.—If the creation of such a department is necessary, from whence comes the opposition which thus far has prevented the desired result?

Third.—If needed, in what manner should such a department be constructed, and what should be its functions?

First.—The history of public sanitation in the United States practically presents two periods—the first extending from the earliest records to the year 1882; the second from the latter date to the present time.

A description of the treatment and prevention of infectious diseases prior to 1882 presents but little which commands the admiration of the modern sanitarian. We find that rules and regulations were enforced, which were not only valueless but often too rigorous and unjust. Added to this was a want of harmony of action in the different sections of the country, frequently to such an extent as to bring ridicule upon the health officials in charge. This naturally generated a lack of confidence, and early in the present century the expediency of placing this important service in charge of the Federal government was vigorously discussed. These facts are very apt to be accepted as an evidence of a want of interest and intelligence on the part of local officials, and as a result discredit has been frequently thrown upon the work performed by State and municipal health officers. That absurd and unnecessary sanitary rules and regulations have been enforced and that there has been a want of uniformity among the States and municipalities cannot be gainsaid, but that this was to a great extent unavoidable will be appreciated by any one who is patient enough to give some study to this subject; for it soon becomes evident that prior to 1882 there was almost a total lack of definite scientific facts upon which could be based an intelligent and uniform plan of action. Therefore, each health official did

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what, in his experience, seemed best for the protection of the public against the invasion or extension of infectious disease. Consequently the methods enforced were necessarily empirical and frequently valueless. The dissatisfaction which existed during the earlier times still lingers, not because the same irregular methods are now employed, but because the present situation is not fully understood.

The year 1882 ushered in an exceedingly important period in the history of public sanitation. It may properly be called an educational or scientific epoch, and for the first time it became possible to treat infectious diseases from a scientific standpoint.

In the year above referred to Professor Koch, a distinguished German physician and investigator, reported the discovery of the tubercle bacillus, and in the following year, 1883, of the cholera bacillus. His statements were soon verified and the germ origin of some of the infectious diseases were fully confirmed. Other important discoveries in this line were made in rapid succession, and bacteriological research received a stimulus such as it had never before known. No better idea of its rapid development can be given than by pointing to the fact that in 1884 there was but one laboratory in the world where instruction was given in bacteriology. This was in Copenhagen. To-day there is hardly a city of importance in any country which does not boast of one or more institutions for this purpose.

During the time that has elapsed since Koch's discovery, sanitarians have vied with each other in their endeavors to obtain additional information relative to the treatment and prevention of infectious disease. Exhaustive bacteriological investigations as to the nature of the micro-organisms of cholera, anthrax, diphtheria, tuberculosis, Bubonic plague, yellow fever, etc., have been made, and others are now in progress. Already an antitoxin has been produced for the prevention and cure of diphtheria. The value of this agent in decreasing the mortality of that disease can hardly be overestimated. Experiments with the view of determining the germicidal power of agents known as disinfectants have been made and the results already obtained are eminently satisfactory. We now have indisputable evidence of the destructive power of steam and other disinfectants upon the pathogenic organisms (organisms or germs which cause infectious disease),

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and apparatus for the practical application of these agents has been perfected. Therefore definite scientific measures for the prevention of infectious disease have taken the place of the crude and empirical performances of the past. In this work the United States is in advance of many other countries, and it is but fair to state that the important bacteriological and experimental work referred to has been carried on principally by State and municipal officers.

I have intended to show that the absence of uniform action, the enforcement of unjust and frequently valueless rules and regulations, which were characteristic of the methods employed during the first period, were not due to a deliberate effort on the part of health officials to force upon the public their theories for the treatment and prevention of infectious disease, nor to oppose uniform rules and regulations, but to a want of scientific facts, which were needed as a guide for their official action. This condition fortunately is fast becoming a thing of the past, and therefore should have no undue weight in the consideration of the necessity of a National Board of Health. Neither should the fact that a few local officials still cling to the earlier methods be taken as an index of the existing condition of public sanitation in the United States, which is being rapidly placed on a scientific basis.

There is probably no one who has carefully studied the advance made in sanitary science during the past fifteen years who is not convinced that the important and definite knowledge we now possess as to the origin, treatment, and prevention of infectious disease inevitably tends towards a uniformity of action in the enforcement of sanitary rules and regulations throughout the country; that is, so far as the climatic and other local conditions will allow. This, however, would be necessarily slow, and it is believed that the establishment of a National Health Bureau having general supervision over health matters both at the coast and the interior, would, if properly organized, hasten this result and would insure a satisfactory and efficient public health service. This proposition has the full support of the experienced sanitarians and the medical profession in general throughout the country.

Second.—The opposition which has been brought to bear from time to time to defeat legislation tending towards the creation of

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a National Bureau of Health is due mainly to the belief that the establishment of such a department would very seriously interfere with the rights of States and municipalities. In addition, those who are interested in this matter have been unable to agree on any one measure to secure the end desired. In the controversy which takes place while this subject is under consideration, the question of State rights occupies a prominent place. There are some who are sufficiently radical to deny that the rights of States and municipalities should for a moment be taken into consideration, provided these in any way interfere with the establishment of a central health bureau. These people would give to the Federal government the entire charge and control of matters relating to the public health, both in the interior and at the coast or quarantine. They dismiss abruptly the suggestion that the harmony of action, which is so earnestly desired, can only be brought about by education and co-operation and not by unnecessarily interfering with the functions of already existing State and municipal officers. These extravagant and immoderate opinions, probably more than anything else, have been responsible for the decided antagonism shown on the part of local officials towards any measure which is meant to deprive them of rights and to belittle responsibilities with which they are clearly invested by their constituents, and it is safe to assume that this has prevented the co-operation which they would have otherwise extended in the effort to secure a National Bureau of Health.

Under the *third* heading is involved the consideration of the most important part of this subject. Those who are interested in the national control of health matters, either directly or indirectly, have gradually during the past six months formed themselves into two distinct factions, each having introduced in Congress a bill which embodies their views on the subject. Aside from the fact that both agree that the Federal government should have much to say in this direction, their ideas as to the methods by which a uniformity of action in public health matters should be brought about are widely divergent and cannot be reconciled. On one side we have the perpetuation of the rather ancient belief, that the national government should be supreme in all matters relating to the public health; that it should be clothed with almost absolute power, sufficient to override at any time State and municipal health authorities without regard to the exi-

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gencies of the case. Indeed, it appears to be part of the creed of this faction to belittle the efforts and service of State and municipal health authorities, whom they regard as necessarily incompetent and unworthy of much consideration. A feeling of this kind certainly does not encourage an alliance with local health officials in a combined effort to prevent the entrance or extension of infectious disease in the United States. It is not the apparent desire of these people to show how much can be done in bringing about a uniformity of action with but little Federal power, but they impatiently present evidence to show that the government has the right to override and to supplant State and municipal officers rather than aid and encourage them in their duties. Lengthy legal opinions in confirmation of this are presented—days and weeks have been spent in and out of Congress to show that so far as health matters are concerned, State and municipal rights can be set aside at the will of the Federal authorities. For what purpose is this, if not to indicate that in their opinion force is essential in bringing about a harmony of action among local health officials. This necessarily produces antagonism and resentment, and this is not strange considering the high efficiency which, during the past fifteen years, so many local health organizations have attained. Without the co-operation of State and municipal officers, the administration of public health matters by the national government in any manner would be a dismal failure, no matter what laws may be enacted for this purpose or what procedure followed.

Local health officials, I believe, are generally regarded as intelligent and law-abiding citizens, and are more than willing to act in concert with the Federal government and officials of other States and municipalities in bringing about harmony of action, provided, in their opinion, this does not in any given instance menace the health of their respective communities. There is but little to criticise in this attitude, as it is but natural that the officials in question should regard the safety of their own people as of paramount importance. It is the complication which presents itself just at this particular point, upon which the whole controversy hinges. Suppose, for instance, that the Federal government is clothed with sufficient power to enforce such health regulations as may be deemed advisable by Federal officials; suppose that during the outbreak of yel-

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low fever in some portion of the South, a certain town has declared through its local health officer, that no train, vehicle or person shall be allowed to enter or pass through this point—possibly a "shot-gun" quarantine (which is rather a relic of the middle ages, and is to be deprecated) is inaugurated, as an additional means of safety. Soon after the occurrence a Federal officer presents himself at the place and declares that the interference with travel is unnecessary and contrary to the Federal laws, and demands that the restrictions shall be removed. Is there any one simple enough to believe, that in the excited condition of the inhabitants of this town, the demand of the Federal official would be promptly complied with? It must be remembered that these people are sincere, and regard the precaution they have taken as necessary for their protection. Now, what will be left for the Federal official to do? He will either gracefully withdraw without having accomplished his object, or with the power at his disposal will possibly invoke the aid of a United States marshal or other Federal officer, who appreciating that he cannot take the entire community into custody, may endeavor, provided he is allowed to enter the town, to arrest the health officer. In conversation with a Southern health official some time ago regarding this point he stated that it would require a large portion of the Federal army to carry this out. Does not this manner of securing uniformity of action savor of barbarism?

Those who advocate the stringent measures just referred to have voiced their sentiment in a bill introduced in the Senate in the early part of the session by Senator Caffery, of Louisiana. This bill gives to the Secretary of the Treasury, or rather to the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service—a branch of the Treasury Department—powers which are autocratic in the extreme. Under the provisions of this measure, the head of the Marine Hospital Service can make and enforce any rule or regulation which may be regarded by him as necessary, without advice or council. I have already given an illustration of the way in which this unusual and autocratic power would probably act. Assuming that the local health official in the case just cited is wrong in his treatment of the situation, he and his neighbors, at least, believe that he is right, and it is not the employment of force which will convince him of his error. That must be done through education and co-operation.

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A compliance with the letter and spirit of the Caffery bill would tend to encourage State and municipal officers to shift their duties and responsibilities to the Federal authorities. This would be fatal to the proper protection of the different communities. The government should rather insist that States and municipalities provide competent officials, who shall be held responsible for the proper performance of their duties. The paternalism, in this direction, exhibited by the Marine Hospital Service bids fair to become a menace to the public health. We have already seen the effect of this in several places in the South, where outbreaks of small-pox, diphtheria, etc., have occurred which it should be entirely within the province and capability of the State and municipal officers to cope with. In the instances referred to these duties have been turned over to the Marine Hospital Service. This may be done as a matter of economy, but I should like to ask if the government is prepared to take charge of all the mild outbreaks which may occur at any time or at any point in the United States. I am quite certain that Federal troops are not indiscriminately used by municipalities, which wish to save trouble and expense in supplying proper police protection to its inhabitants. In fact it is of the rarest occurrence that they are detailed for this duty, and although the cases may not be exactly parallel, the principle is the same, namely, that States and municipalities must be prepared to protect themselves. Were it not for this our police and National Guard would be inefficient. Why should it not equally be the policy of the national government to encourage an efficient health service in the different States for local protection against disease.

It is fully appreciated by those who have carefully studied this subject that there is but one way to hasten a uniformity of action in public health matters throughout the United States, and that is by *education* and *co-operation*. The truth of this is so apparent that during the past winter almost all the medical and commercial bodies throughout the country have banded together to enact such legislation as will lead to the establishment of a National Bureau of Health ; the functions of which should be to aid and encourage State and municipal officials in the scientific work already begun, to co-operate and, as it were, form a partnership with them for the protection of the country against the in-

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vasion of infectious diseases. This bureau should collect information relative to health matters, both at home and abroad; it should be equipped with laboratories for original research and investigation, and in different ways act as an educational centre, and in this manner stimulate local officials to become competent sanitarians and not discourage them in these efforts. This bureau should have the power to assume direct charge in different localities only when it is clearly proven that local officials are unable or incompetent to act. In the making of general rules and regulations it should have the advice and council of expert sanitarians who are familiar with the needs of the different sections throughout the country.

A bill conforming to the above ideas has already been introduced into the Senate by Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin. The bill is broad in its application, is meant to bring about uniformity of action by education, encouragement, and co-operation, and not by antagonism and force. It is safe to say that no bill of this character which has ever been presented to Congress has appealed so directly and forcibly to the element which is best able to judge of the value of such measures, and it is gratifying to know that at the time of writing it has every prospect of success.

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OUR WORK AND OBSERVATIONS IN CUBA.

BY CLARA BARTON, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS.

PERHAPS next to the actual doing of the work at a relief field, the most difficult thing is the telling of it. There is so much in detail, both important and imperative, that does not seem worth mentioning; so much to be improvised that does not class with regular work; usually so many excellent persons to be met and considered, whose untried opinions nothing short of a trial will satisfy and nothing short of a failure will convince; and the unexpected so often happening; that any description afterwards seems either too tame or too confused to be understood; and yet the kindly and repeated request of the editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that, for "public enlightenment," I would write a few words, telling of my work and observations in Cuba induces me, even in the hurry of changes and journeys, to comply with it.

It was as far back as November, 1897, that I was made aware of the intention of our President to address a personal appeal to the people of the United States, with a view to bringing about concerted effort of sufficient magnitude to afford adequate relief to the perishing population of Cuba. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that my own thoughts, and such little influence as I might possess, had been directed to the same object since our return from Armenia, fourteen months before.

These like conditions naturally resulted in a conference. From that time there could have been no doubt in the mind of the Executive as to the moral expediency of a call. At or near the moment selected occurred the touching event which in its faithful, filial simplicity challenged the tender respect of the world. This great man forgot that he was President of the

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United States of America, and remembered only the wrinkled face and parting message of the mother at whose bedside he humbly knelt—forgot that an impatient Congress waited for his message in order to convene, whilst he laid the last tribute of a mourning son lovingly upon her grave.

With deepened gaze and saddened face he hastened back to the stern duties of the statesman, remembering all the more keenly the woes of other sons and other mothers, and the wail of the perishing little children to whom hunger means so much. It was then decided to make the call upon the people of the country, to contribute in money and material for the relief of the suffering "people of Cuba"; and that a committee should be appointed to receive and ship from New York the contributions made for that purpose. The great courtesy of the direction of this committee was tendered to myself, and I had the pleasure of naming its present Chairman, Mr. Stephen E. Barton, for many years a vice-president of the National Red Cross, and a member of its staff. The honorable and efficient treasurer of the committee, Mr. Charles A. Schieren, was named by the President of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, and Mr. Louis Klopsch, proprietor of the *Christian Herald*, who had previously addressed a letter to the Administration proposing to raise money for relief, was made a third member of the committee, now known as the Central Cuban Relief Committee.

The shipment of supplies was, naturally, consigned to Consul General Lee as the highest-bonded officer on the island, to receive and distribute; and I was requested by the same authority to follow to Cuba and assist in the distribution.

Consul-General Lee having asked the committee for an assistant in handling the supplies, rapidly increasing in quantity, Mr. J. K. Elwell, a gentleman of several years residence in Cuba, and familiar with the language, was appointed by the committee. He accompanied me on my first visit to Havana, and still holds that position.

Shipments of supplies had been made by some eight or ten Ward Line steamers. They were stored by courtesy in the great San José warehouse, adjacent to the custom house, and were being distributed from a number of depots, mainly the private residences of citizens, members of a committee, consisting of leading people of Havana, appointed by the Consul-General.

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At the time of our arrival supplies had been landed only at Havana, and no outside distribution had commenced—indeed, to all appearance, the home market was quite sufficient. Distributions were made in weekly rations by tickets. Sunday was the day of distribution of the American supplies. The first sight of this, as we drove from house to house, is not easily forgotten. The crowds of gaunt hunger that clustered about the door—the streets far back filled with half-clad, eager masses of humanity, waiting, watching, for the little packages, for the morsel of food that was to interpose between them and the death that threatened them. The first station had issued one thousand tickets; the second, thirteen hundred; the third, eighteen hundred; and the largest, twenty-two hundred. About twelve thousand persons received rations that day. The gatherings were orderly, patient, respectful, but pitiful beyond description.

The question constantly coming up was, *Where* do these wretched people stay? Sent away from their homes, ignorant, helpless, where do they find others? It was suggested that Los Fosos, a large, old establishment that had once formed one of the landmarks, if not defenses, of the city, had been used for this purpose. A visit to it revealed what human wretchedness—without force, without intentional inhumanity, indeed, with perhaps the opposite—a modified disposition to relieve—could mean. On these dark, bare, wet, filthy floors, a hundred feet unbroken by partition, with few cots or any other provision for sleeping, were huddled from six hundred to eight hundred human beings, largely women and children, although many feeble men and boys were among them. Very few could walk; a piece of a blanket or shawl; often no dress underneath; no mattress. Sometimes a few rags were visible.

The "rations" (for this was a municipal arrangement) had lately been discontinued and only the charitable gifts of the city people sustained it. American food had not yet entered. A few physicians looked in on them, but there were no medicines; and, to add to my terror, I felt these long unbroken floors trembling and yielding beneath the ever increasing weight put upon them.

It required but a few days to get a member of the Consul's committee in charge and American food in well cooked meals served twice a day; cots and clothing for all; rooms partitioned

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off for dispensary, clothing and stores; with kind physicians glad to serve, when they had something to serve with ; brooms, brushes and dusters into the hands of those who had a little strength to use them ; stairs and floors securely bridged and shored ; and, when our genial Dr. Lesser grasped the welcoming hand of these noble hearted surgeons, and "Sister Bettina" took in her band of trained nurses, one drew a long breath of glad relief and felt that Los Fosos was a thing of history. A homeless man now finds shelter there for the night and a hungry man or woman a plate of food ; and so far from being a reproach it is a credit to the city.

By this time the supplies were coming in larger shipments. The warehouse not only provided free storage, but the free use of its force of help, in handling, as well. Too much praise could not be rendered that competent business firm, and the custom house officials were equally obliging and helpful. True, their laws are like the laws of the Medes and Persians and as strictly enforced, but therein consists the security and safety we have at all times enjoyed.

The cordiality that met us on all sides was remarkable. On February 14, only five days after our arrival, we were begged to leave our duties long enough to visit our splendid battleship, the "Maine," lying a "thing of beauty" scarce a quarter of a mile from shore. Our luncheon with Captain Sigsbee and his gallant officers remains a sad and pleasant memory. Thirty hours later, the doors and windows of our rooms in the Inglaterra (for we were still at the hotel) rattled and flew open, the thunder of the heaviest artillery pealed over the city and the heavens were filled with lurid blaze and bursting bombs. We have little need of the poet's stirring battle-cry of to-day, "Remember, the 'Maine.'" We who saw her destruction, the agony of her survivors, and the burial of her dead can never cease to remember.

Directly following this we rented and removed to a comfortable house in Cerro, Villa Jorrin, a delightful suburb of Havana, two miles out and reached by street cars ; sufficiently capacious for the members of the staff who might follow, and which, to-day, constitutes the headquarters of the American Red Cross in Cuba. Members and assistants, to the number of a dozen or more did follow immediately, including Dr. A. Monae Lesser, surgeon of the Red Cross hospital in New York, and "Acting surgeon-in-

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chief," by appointment, of the National Red Cross at the field, and his accomplished wife, "Sister Bettina," bearing a relation to nurses similar to that of her husband with physicians and surgeons. Years of faithful service, devotion, skill, and successful attainment have richly won for them this distinction. Their trained nurses are now in Tampa, waiting to return to Cuba as soon as they may be permitted.

In this connection I should name our veteran field agent, Dr. J. B. Hubbell, who has stood on every field of disaster, nearly twenty in number, where the American Red Cross has given relief, and Dr. E. W. Egan, of Boston, equally faithful and devoted. Such is the nucleus of a staff of war relief which would at once swell to scores, nay hundreds, if occasion demands.

Before the end of the first week we had commenced sending to the country towns all the food that could be spared from Havana, and when the "Vigilancia" came in with fifty-two tons we felt that we might go ourselves and see how best to place it. Jaruco, only twenty miles to the east of us, had suffered greatly. No aid had reached it. Its one train a day necessitated a start from home at four-thirty in the morning, dark, damp and chilly. A ferry and a train brought us there at nine o'clock. A royal welcome awaited us from all the dignitaries of the town. The mayor, judge, doctor and priest, who led the way to the church, followed by a crowd of people that filled its entire centre, kneeling in prayer, with tears of gratitude to God that at length some one had remembered them, and as the word "America" in broken accents burst out in their sobbing prayers, we remembered the plentiful, peaceful American homes and happy hearts, and thanked God that we were of them. Alas! how poorly I took in the terrrible danger threatening to engulf us in the direst of woes that could befall a peaceful, prosperous people.

From the church our way led to the hospitable but plain table of the mayor, for breakfast with the leaders of the town and with them to visit the village of reconcentrados that had built itself up in the midst of them. A remarkable fact regarding Jaruco is that more persons have actually died in that town during the three years of the war than comprised its own entire population when it began. The charities of the town people have been something enormous in proportion to their means, but they have given themselves unto poverty. They could not even keep up

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the furnishing of a hospital, although nearly every little palmetto hut had its suffering patients.

We asked to be shown what would be their hospital if it could be kept—a fairly good building capable of accommodating fifty to seventy, with only four patients, evidently left to die; but the conditions surrounding them forbade the entrance of cleanly persons. The stench as of something dead drove us back; but rallying we decided to make battle, and called for volunteers. Arming them with weapons of shining Spanish gold and silver we ordered them to enter the town for purchases, first, carts of water, for in its scarcity even that had to be bought in Jaruco; barrels of lime, brooms, whitewash brushes, disinfectants and whatever else was needed; next, taking out into the air the four poor wretches, to commence on the building and grounds.

Here were twenty strong men, full of unwonted courage and aroused impulse, to wage a battle with filth and death.

At noon we left, for duties in another part of the city and to arrange for the sending of heavy supplies. At five o'clock the return messenger found a perfectly odorless building, clean, whitewashed from floor to ceiling, grounds policed and limed, and the four dying men reclining on cots in the sunshine in clean clothes, eating crackers and condensed milk.

The next day went out new cots, blankets and outfit for a hospital, a Cuban surgeon, Dr. Jose Sollosso, to superintend it; medicines, clothing, delicacies, with directions to take all the sick from the huts to hospital. The women of the town, filled with renewed hope, begged to be allowed to assist. Reports came regularly to us to the last of our stay; few deaths. The town grew comfortable and happy under its rations of food, and the terrors of Jaruco, like those of Los Fosos, had passed into history.

We were meanwhile apprised that shipments for other ports would be made; notably Matanzas, Sagua and Santiago de Cuba, and some very heavy work was required of our men to avoid the harmful results of mistaken orders in the distribution of the ships. It was at this juncture, the last of February, that Senator Proctor, with his friend, Col. M. M. Parker, arrived in Havana, whose calm, faithful report of what he saw and learned, with no attempt at oratory, effect or sensation, has been the balance wheel that has steadied many a swaying mind and doubtful opinion.

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We were informed that the "Fern" would leave New York with 50 tons of food for Matanzas; we knew of great destitution there; but hitherto our supplies had not been equal to the relieving of a city of fifty thousand.

We decided to go personally, learn the condition, and arrange for the expected distribution. On the 2d of March, inviting Senator Proctor to accompany us, we made another early morning start, to be warmly welcomed in Matanzas on our arrival. The description of this welcome, our reception by the accomplished governor—a royal Cuban—and much of patriotic and pathetic interest which marked the passing of the day, can find no place in the lines of this short and hasty sketch. However, they are history and can afford to wait their turn, when readers shall have more time both to read and reflect.

The condition of the hospitals when they were reached was pitiful beyond description, and no description will be here attempted. I may only add that to us, with our work-a-day ideas and customs, it seemed that deeper interest and greater care on the part of some one could have improved conditions even as discouraging as these. We gave all we had to give, with the positive and repeated assurances that the next train from Havana would bring supplies of food suitable for the sustenance of all the hospitals, and we promised that a ship would bring relief to every hungry reconcentrado; then we hastened back by the one returning train late in the day to fulfil our promise. I may only add that we did fulfil it. The Friday morning train, March 4th, took four tons of the choicest hospital supplies in the warehouse of Havana to Matanzas. Resting in this certainty, and fearing that similar conditions might exist elsewhere, we continued our investigations through these dark early morning journeys, Senator Proctor and friends always accompanying, till Artemisa, Sagua le Grande and Cienfuegos had been reached and investigated within the week. Having learned the condition and needs of these great points, and prepared ourselves to report correctly to the committee at New York, and having learned that the "Fern" had arrived at Matanzas, it was proper to repeat our visit and arrange for distribution.

Our first Senatorial visitors had returned to Washington, and a second and larger party of honored representatives of the government, together with Mr. Louis Klopsch, of the New York com-

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mittee, had taken its place, and also accompanied us on this second visit to Matanzas. It pains me to write that, in spite of all our efforts, we arrived to find the hospital in worse condition, if possible, than before, and the four tons of hospital supplies for which we held the way bills, sent on the 4th, eight days before still lying in perfect and compact order in the freight room of the station, each bearing the relief sign of the Red Cross, and plainly addressed to the American authorities there. All the authorities of the town were Cubans and Americans: and at that moment to greet our eyes the steamship "Fern" lay under the American flag within gunshot of the shore with 50 tons of American supplies; and fifty rods away lay the "Bergen" under the same colors, bearing a cargo of fifty-two tons, from the Philadelphia Red Cross, faithfully sent through the New York committee, by request. I simply name these circumstances to emphasize the fact, that, at the moment when the appeal went out over our paralyzed country for "starving Matanzas," there were lying in her station, or within gunshot of her shores, in plain view, one hundred and fifty-six tons of the best food our great, generous-hearted people could contribute. It is needless to add that our field agent, Dr. Hubbell, remained, and that the inmates of the four hospitals partook of their supper from the waiting supplies. With the seven hundred tons that have since been promiscuously sent to Matanzas, her people should not be hungry.

Dr. Hubbell remained at Matanzas and Sagua until official notification came from America that provision had been made to take all Americans from the island. No exceptions were made in favor of any one, and presuming that, in the event of hostilities, our government would prefer its citizens to be in the rear rather than in front of its guns, we obediently and respectfully withdrew.

From no authorities or people on the island have we ever received any but the most considerate and courteous treatment

CLARA BARTON.

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THE INSURGENT GOVERNMENT IN CUBA.

BY HORATIO S. RUBENS, COUNSEL OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

The Cuban Rebellion of 1868 proved the power of endurance and resistance of the Cuban people. The present uprising proves that the Cubans are good organizers, thoroughly practical and amenable to discipline. The Ten Years' War was projected by the more educated part of the community; the present insurrection is the result of a popular upheaval.

The great secret of the success of the present Cuban movement lies in its organization. It is claimed that the Cuban people are incapable of self-government, but the facts prove the falsity of this statement.

It is not my purpose to show the causes which led to the uprising. However, it must be borne in mind that on the termination of the Ten Years' War, and the failure of Spain to keep faith with the Cubans and give them that home rule for which alone they laid down their arms, a large number of Cubans left the island to live in the United States, Central America, and the West Indies. Most of these were veteran fighters; all were opposed to Spanish rule.

Time passed; Spanish rule had become more intolerable than ever. The Cubans on the island looked to the veteran leaders abroad for counsel and aid. The spirit of revolt was there, but organization was needed.

José Marti assumed the great task. He organized the Cubans abroad into clubs, and these clubs were associated to constitute the Cuban Revolutionary Party. Every member of the party became not only a worker, but a regular contributor to the revolutionary fund. The veterans were pledged to lead in the coming conflict. It was agreed that General Maximo Gomez, then in

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Santo Domingo, should have supreme command. On the island were established secret committees which completed the organization there, in accordance with Marti's plans.

It might be asked why, if the movement was a popular one, there was not from the first a general uprising. It must be remembered that the Cubans were not allowed under Spanish rule to bear arms. Every rifle had to be secretly bought or smuggled into the country. In the western districts those which had been provided were seized by the Spanish government. To rush into the field unarmed would have been madness. A nucleus had to be formed, and it was much safer to do this in the mountainous East. The 24th of February, 1895, the very day set by Marti for the uprising, saw the formation of this nucleus in the province of Santiago. In April the celebrated Maceo brothers landed, as did General Gomez and Marti shortly after. Professional and business men, engineers, and men of leisure flocked from the cities to the insurgent standards, leaving their families behind them. The country people applied for admission to the ranks in great numbers, until the leaders decided to take no man unless he could be armed with a rifle. Gomez proceeded into the province of Puerto Principe, and the men of that district rose and joined him. Generals Roloff and Sanchez, landing with arms and ammunition in the province of Santa Clara, which is west of Puerto Principe, were joined by its inhabitants. From Santa Clara, the next westerly province, Matanzas, was organized; and towards the end of 1895, Generals Gomez and Antonio Maceo, in their now famous invasion of the western provinces, carried the organization to the western extremity of the island, and for the first time in the history of Cuba there was a general uprising, covering the length and breadth of the island.

Many rifles and cartridges were bought from corrupt Spanish officials, and some were captured; but the thorough organization abroad was relied upon to increase the armament and supply the necessary ammunition.

There has been, especially of late, much criticism of those Cubans who reside abroad, it being claimed that they are too cowardly to fight. There never was need for them in the field, but for the money which they laboriously earned, and which they have given so freely, there was much need. The constant sacrifice of the Cubans abroad to supply the patriots in the field with arms

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and ammunition, is as remarkable as it is touching. These men, who have been called cowards, have proved themselves to be endowed with the highest moral courage and capacity for self-sacrifice, and they are an indispensable part of the revolutionary movement. The so-called Cuban Junta, which is really the American Delegation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party and also the representatives abroad of the Cuban Republic, is responsible to the civil government for the fulfillment of its various and onerous duties.

It has been said that a large part of the rural population are not in sympathy with the uprising. As has been pointed out, orders had been given to receive no recruits who could not be armed. This, perforce, compelled thousands to remain at home, ready to help the army by contributions of food and clothing. Captain-General Martinez Campos confessed that the country people were all rebels, ready to spy on him, and give aid, comfort, and valuable information to the Cubans, while the Spanish troops were invariably misled by false information. He frankly stated that military operations were useless under these conditions. Weyler, too, became satisfied of this, and evolved a plan of concentration of the country people in the towns, destroying their habitations and their crops, and confiscating their stock. The wiser among them escaped in time to join the insurgents, and in view of the circumstances the military leaders bowed to the inevitable. Thus we have what is called the '*impedimenta*'—camp followers, armed for the most part with machetes—who are useless in most of the fighting, but a highly valuable auxiliary in foraging for the army, herding horses and cattle, working in the shops of the government and raising crops. The fact that some four hundred thousand reconcentrados have been starved to death by Weyler's decree, proves that they were known to be in sympathy with the insurgents, not with the Spaniards. The same is true of the unfortunate remnant which survives. Spain would not exterminate her loyal subjects. For the same reasons, thousands of insurgents in the cities have been forced to remain at home. They helped their more unfortunate countrymen until all classes suffered equal destitution. In every city there is a secret organization of the insurgents, which keeps in close touch with their comrades in the field and abroad, despite the vigilance of the Spanish authorities.

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On September 13, 1895, delegates from the several provinces met at Jimaguayu, adopted a constitution which was to last for two years, and elected the officers provided for. Salvador Cisneros, who renounced the Spanish title of Marquis of Santa Lucia, was elected President, and Bartolome Maso, Vice-President. These, together with a government council, consisting of a Secretary of War, a Secretary of Foreign Affairs, a Secretary of the Treasury and a Secretary of the Interior, were vested with legislative functions. Sub-secretaries, Governors of provinces and their lieutenants were then appointed. The entire island was divided into small districts, called prefectures, and responsible persons were appointed as prefects. The prefects, besides being charged with the safety of those residing within their jurisdiction, have judicial functions and are responsible for the local property and interests of the Republic.

Tanneries, smithies for the repair of arms, shops for manufacturing saddlery, shoes, and clothing, the raising of crops, the herding and propagation of cattle in secure places, and the care of spare or overworked horses are all in charge of the prefects. A department of communications, with its chiefs and subordinates, facilitates correspondence on the island. Responsible tax-collectors receive the imposts decreed by the government. In the year ending 1897 over $400,000 was collected by the Republic by way of taxes. The organized Cubans abroad constituted a source of steady income, besides which there were large extraordinary donations by individual patriots. One lady contributed more than $120,000. On the occasion of Gen. Antonio Maceo's death an extraordinary contribution was made by the Paris colony of more than $100,000. Little more than $100,000, face value, of the bonds issued by the Republic, have been sold, at an average of forty cents on the dollar. The sale or grant of concessions or privileges has been absolutely refused. In short, the utmost care has been exercised to avoid the creation of liabilities.

The army is subordinate to the civil government. No military commissions, except the lowest grades, can be given except on recommendation by the Commander-in-Chief and the approval of the government. The army was wholly volunteer without pay, until the government passed a law providing for the payment of salaries, after the establishment of peace, for the term of actual service. The pay ranges from thirty dollars per month

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for privates up to five hundred dollars per month for Major-Generals. The object of this legislation was to provide for the speedy disbandment of the army when the war ends, by enabling its members to return immediately to their peaceful pursuits, and placing a considerable sum in circulation. It is also the intention of the government to supply with tools and implements those who are in need, so that they may at once resume their former trades and occupations. To accomplish this purpose a loan will be easily floated, as the credit of the island has been kept unpledged. The civil government was at first confined to the east, but broadened with the spread of the military occupation.

In October, 1897, at the expiration of the term fixed by the constitution, a new constituent assembly was elected in the manner prescribed by law. This assembly amended the old constitution, and elected a new set of government officials. Bartolome Maso is now President and Mendez Capote Vice-president. The council of government consists of the President, Vice-President, and Secretary of War, José B. Aleman; a Secretary of Foreign Relations, Andres Moreno de la Torre; a Secretary of the Treasury, Ernesto Fonts Stirling; and a Secretary of the Interior, Manuel Ramon Silva. The Secretary of the Council is José Clemente Vivanco. The constitution provides that upon the establishment of peace there shall be an immediate general election of a new government at which everyone shall have free voice and vote.

There was no attempt on the part of the military element to influence the elections. The seat of the government was formerly at Cubitas, in Puerto Principe Province; it is now at Agramonte, in the same Province.

That the government has moved about is true, but so did our own revolutionary government whenever it was threatened. The reason, however, for the movements of the Cuban government was not that its safety was imperilled, for the situations selected have been almost impregnable, but because of the necessity of conferring personally with its generals. It would have been inconvenient, and probably seriously detrimental to the military movements, to have insisted on the generals leaving their forces to repair to the seat of government for conference.

In the eastern districts, where the country is in almost undisputed possession of the Cubans, newspapers are published, and

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even schools have been established. The constituent assembly of 1895, and again that of 1897, elected Maximo Gomez Commander-in-Chief. There are six army corps. The first, second, and third army corps are commanded by Gen. Calixto Garcia, but the first is under the immediate command of Pedro Perez, Jesus Rabi is in charge of the second, and Gen. Xavier Vega of the third. The fourth army corps is commanded by Gen. Francisco Carrillo, the fifth, in two divisions, by Gens. Pedro Betancourt and Alejandro Rodriguez, and, finally, the sixth is under Gen. Pedro Diaz. The fifth, and sixth are, however, subject to the superior command of Gen. José Maria Rodriguez.

There are now about 40,000 well armed Cubans in the field. There are, besides, the *impedimenta* and others who have sought safety within the Cuban lines, amounting to about 100,000 additional men, all waiting for rifles.

From the outset, the Cubans realized the impossibility of carrying on a warfare of pitched battles, with the difficulty of obtaining sufficient arms and ammunition. When it is remembered that at one time Spain had as many as 220,000 soldiers in Cuba, the wisdom of guerilla warfare is evident. Thoroughly acquainted with every foot of the country, the Cubans always choose their ground. They cannot be severely defeated, because where victory is impossible they scatter only to reunite at a place agreed upon. It is like striking at a swarm of mosquitoes; you may crush a few, but the rest escape to trouble you anew. The Cubans fight in open order, while the Spaniards invariably fight in line of battle, or in squares. Whenever threatened by Cuban cavalry, the Spaniards form into square, thus offering a broad mark. When the Spanish vanguard is attacked on the march, it generally falls back on the main body, which then forms for action. Thus it is that a few Cubans will harass a Spanish column for miles, retiring slowly, forcing the regulars to form time and again, inflicting numerous losses, and goading the enemy to madness at the impossibility of retaliation. Often they draw the Spaniards slowly on into the ambush previously prepared, which the luxuriant vegetation renders it comparatively easy to do.

The chief reason for Spain's military failure, however, is that she has never had a proper commissary. Even when driving the Cubans before them, they cannot follow for more than three days

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without falling back on a base of supplies. The Cubans live entirely on the country: yam, yucca, fruits, sweet potatoes, cassava, and even cabbage palms and sour oranges will sustain the acclimated Cubans, while the Spaniards sicken and die on this diet. Most of the Spanish losses have been caused by fevers and dysentery. In such a climate bacon and beans, the principal food supplied to the Spanish troops, is bound to cause sickness. Sanitation is a thing unknown. On going into camp, the Spanish officers leave the men to look after the horses and themselves at will.

The Spanish soldiers, mere conscripts, have no opportunity of rifle practice, as we understand it. They are simply trained to fire in volleys. They are mostly armed with Mauser rifles, which have five shots in the magazine.

There is some attempt at aim with the first shot, but the remaining four are fired wildly, too often from the hip. The result is a flight of whistling steel-jacketed bullets far above the heads of the enemy. The artillerists are equally bad shots. The Spaniards, unlike the Cubans, never march at night. The Cubans are excellent horsemen, while the poor Spanish peasant lads, from sixteen to twenty-two years of age, make but indifferent cavalry. The Cuban infantry can outfoot the Spanish, who are shod with canvas sandals, having jute rope soles. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Spain has made a dismal failure of her military operations in Cuba.

The climate, the guerilla warfare peculiarly adapted to the physical conditions of the island, the gradual decimating of Spain's forces, and the cutting off of all sources of her revenue from Cuba, have been the means on which the Cubans have relied in their confident anticipation of ultimate triumph. One of the first military measures was the decree forbidding the grinding of sugar cane and the gathering of the tobacco crop, the staple products of the island. The fact that but little sugar has been exported during the last three years, and that nearly all of it had been taxed for the benefit of the Republic, proves the strength and extent of the Cuban occupation of the island.

A proper estimate of the military operations in Cuba can be formed not by consideration of the battles fought, but rather of the campaigns planned by either side.

In the enforcement of the decree against grinding sugar and

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gathering tobacco three campaigns have been fought and won by the Cubans. When Gomez and Marti landed in Santiago and conferred with the Maceo brothers, Captain-General Martinez Campos, who had arrived from Spain with large reinforcements, threw a line of about 10,000 men on the boundary between Santiago and Puerto Principe Provinces. He boasted that the inhabitants of Puerto Principe, which was considered a most conservative part of the island, having suffered much in the Ten Years War, would never rise in arms against Spain, and that he would keep Gomez confined to Santiago. General Antonio Maceo made a feint on one point of the line, drew the Spaniards towards him and left an opening of which Gomez took prompt advantage. Gomez thereupon fell upon several towns, captured convoys, and equipped the men of Puerto Principe.

General Maceo kept the Spaniards well employed in Santiago and cut off several convoys destined for the city of Bayamo, to which point Martinez Campos resolved to march.

He had made an elaborate plan. Three columns were to cooperate in surrounding and crushing General Maceo in Santiago, while a cordon of troops was to be placed west of General Gomez. With Maceo out of the way, Campos was to relieve Bayamo, then march with the eastern troops toward Gomez and catch the latter between his two lines. This was to end the war.

Maceo, however, defeated each of the three columns in turn, and then caught Campos at Peralejo, utterly routing the Peninsulars, capturing their convoy and pursuing them to the very gates of Bayamo.

Campos sent for more troops from the west, and while engaged in extricating himself, Generals Roloff and Sanchez had landed with war material in Santa Clara Province and were soon thoroughly organized. The celebrated western march of Gomez and Maceo was next projected.

De Lome had promised that with the advent of the dry season of 1895–6 would come the end of the revolt. Instead, came the invasion of the west, which Campos in vain tried to check. Gomez pursued tactics similar to those employed by the cavalry of the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war. Campos changed his headquarters again and again, always to find that the Cubans had outflanked him. Through Santa Clara, through Matanzas and into Havana Provinces marched the Cubans, threatening even

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the capital, which Campos then hurriedly fortified from the land side, throwing out a line of troops south to Batabano. The Cubans cut through this also, and Maceo was left to attend to Pinar del Rio, while Gomez turned eastward. Martinez Campos resigned in despair, being forced to do so by the clamor of the rabid Spaniards in Cuba, who demanded a leader who would follow the traditional cruel policy of Spain. Weyler was the man who truly fulfilled their desires.

Maceo, after having entered nearly every town in Pinar del Rio, capturing much war material, set out to join Gomez in Matanzas. Weyler promptly declared that Pinar del Rio was pacified, that sugar grinding would commence immediately, and that Maceo and Gomez were in full retreat to the east. Maceo at once turned back, and in this, the most westerly Province, successfully resisted all attacks of Weyler for more than a year. Although Maceo had no intention of leaving this Province, Weyler built the western trocha at enormous cost to keep him confined there. Some 60,000 Spanish troops were uselessly placed to guard this trocha, to be killed by the miasma from the trenches and swamps along the line. Weyler's next campaign was against Gomez in Santa Clara, where the latter sustained himself in a very small district against over 50,000 Spanish troops. Blanco arranged a campaign against Calixto Garcia in Santiago, of which Pando has made a signal failure.

Despite Weyler's boast, not a single province is pacified. From east to west the Cubans are masters of the interior, while the Spaniards hold the ports and fortified towns. The Cubans have nevertheless complete access to the coast, as is shown by the receipt of their numerous supply expeditions. As a matter of fact the only operations of the Spanish are the sending of convoys of supplies to the interior towns.

The Cubans have some artillery, and have used a pneumatic dynamite gun with excellent results. Several towns of importance have been taken by the artillery of General Garcia, but the Cubans are chary of capturing towns with artillery, as the bombardment endangers their own friends and relatives.

That no port has been permanently held is due to the lack of a navy, which could not be acquired because of stringent neutrality laws. Spain is aware that Cuba is hopelessly lost to her. She has gradually diminished her efforts. To-day she has only

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about 80,000 soldiers fit for duty, as against 200,000 at this season last year. The official records admit a loss of 65,000 to Spain during the first two years. Within the last nine months about 30,000 have been sent home invalided, and there are now about that number on the sick list in Cuba.

Spain's expenditures have averaged about thirteen million dollars a month. The pay of the army is greatly in arrears. Financially and physically, Spain's resources are substantially at an end. Her struggle to retain Cuban has been gigantic, but it has been badly directed. The Cubans, on their part, have shown good judgment in retaining and husbanding their resources, and in taking intelligent advantage of the weak points of their enemy. A people capable of such organization, civil and military, and of fighting a European power to a standstill on a little island like Cuba, without a navy and at first utterly unarmed, have surely given sufficient promise of capability of self-government. Nor is there danger of future internecine strife. The turbulent Indian blood which has proven unfortunate to some Spanish-American countries is entirely absent in Cuba. The racial question is not apt to prove troublesome. Only 30 per cent. of the population is of the negro race, including in this calculation the mixed races, even to the one-sixteenth of African blood.

Education has helped to develop the Cubans, and the fact that most of them have been educated in France and the United States goes far to prove that they understand the principles of republican institutions.

The Cubans have looked to the United States as the great model and protector of American Republics, and, firm in the belief of the sympathy and justice of the American people, they have appealed for recognition as an independent nation. Once free, there are many Cubans who may doubtless desire to follow the example of Texas; but even as an independent republic, Cuba will always be bound to the United States by the strongest commercial ties, and the conditions of intercourse on Cuba's side must of necessity be the more liberal, since the speedy attainment of her independence shall have been the result of the friendly alliance and intervention of this country.

HORATIO S. RUBENS.

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SHOULD OUR VOLUNTEERS BE RAISED BY CONSCRIPTION?

BY CAPTAIN JAMES PARKER, U. S. A.

In 1865 we had in this country a million and a half of men trained in the profession of arms, and fit for active service. As a military nation we were then, and were for a number of years afterwards, formidable. In view of our strength the necessity of formulating a military policy for the future did not seem pressing. We were tired of war and of questions of war.

Thirty-two years have passed. A new generation makes its voice heard loudly. It is for the assertion of our greatness, for the exaction of what we consider our rights, to the last iota. As a nation we have become aggressive.

But these thirty-two years have transformed our veterans into pensioners. They are long past the military age. The men who in 1865 were 24 years of age are to-day 56. Few of these are available for service. The military talent we have for years vaunted ourselves on possessing, is rapidly passing off the stage. We must open our eyes to the fact that we can count on it no longer. What policy shall we adopt?

Steam has transformed the ocean, formerly an obstacle to approach, into a road by which armies may be easily and quickly transported. We thus find that the nations of Europe, once remote, have become, as it were, our next-door neighbors. The period since 1865 has been for them a time of rivalries, jealousies, quarrels. While we have been devoting our attention to the arts of peace, they have been preparing for war, and now stand armed to the teeth, prepared for conflict. We find them prepared, by means of conscription based on the principle of universal service, to embody in their armies in time of war from three to ten per cent. of their population. France, Germany and

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Russia each counts on having under arms forces of from three to four millions of men.

It is useless for us to imagine, in case we were involved in war with a first-class power, that we would not have to rival these sacrifices. We have only to look back at the colossal forces we raised in 1861-65 to realize that when our national existence is concerned we will spare no money, no men.

To provide for future wars schemes have been advanced in favor of a permanent enlargement of our regular army; for the reorganization and increase of our National Guard. Such schemes are illusory, because they are inadequate.

The prejudices of our people against a largely increased standing army seem to make that solution of the question impracticable. The National Guard is a home guard raised by a State to preserve order within its borders. As regiments, the National Guard cannot properly be incorporated permanently or in the armies of the United States. That they will be available in emergencies, and that large numbers of men and officers of the National Guard will in time of war join the national forces, bringing with them much available military talent, there can be no doubt. But it is none the less true that the individual States will have need of, and will be obliged to retain, their State military organizations. War often brings civil disorder, and troops will be needed at home as well as at the front.

It is evident, that in case of a great war, we, like the nations of Europe, will be, as in 1863, obliged to resort to conscription. The only essential difference between the conscription we enforced during the rebellion, and the conscription now going on in Germany and France, is that there they draft men during peace to be educated for war, while ours was strictly a war measure abandoned with the advent of peace.

The system of recruiting as perfected by the United States towards the close of the Rebellion was founded on conscription. It may seem a paradox, but at this period it was directly as well as indirectly by means of *conscription* that we raised the mass of our United States *Volunteers*.

In considering the subject of how our volunteers are to be raised, we should examine into the leading features of the system of recruiting elaborated during the late war, since in that war we attained our largest experience. It was an intricate system, since

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it was a growth evolved by the necessities of the war, and had to be carried on in such a manner as not to offend the susceptibilities of the sovereign States, both State and National authorities taking part in it. But, as in any future great war we shall be obliged to adopt a method of recruiting modelled upon it, it should be studied in order that, if possible, its faults may be corrected.

Before going any further it may be well to enumerate the different military land forces which the United States may make use of in time of war. We may then more clearly understand the meaning of the term "Volunteers." These are :

1st. The regular army raised by the central government by voluntary enlistment. This is in one sense of the word a volunteer force. But it is distinguished by being a permanent force, the officers holding commissions during life or good conduct.

2d. Regiments of militia raised by the several State governments by voluntary enlistment for service in the war, and then mustered into the service of the United States. These were called "Volunteers," or "State Volunteers," to distinguish them from regular United States troops. Their officers were appointed by the States.

3d. Regiments of militia raised for the war by their respective States by draft or conscription from the militia enrollment, and immediately mustered into the service of the United States. These also were called "Volunteers."

4th. Regiments of the "National Guard," sometimes called "Volunteer Militia," "Active Militia," "Organized Militia." These are permanent State troops, raised by the State by means of voluntary enlistment, not for the war, but for peace duty, within the State. They were enumerated as part of the militia, in one of the first acts of Congress dealing with the military establishment. These troops before the rebellion were often called "State Volunteers." When mustered into the service of the United States, they too were included in the general designation, "United States Volunteers."

5th. United States Volunteers. There was a class of volunteer troops which were made use of in our early history, which were raised and officered by the United States central government. The law authorized the President to appoint the company officers of such volunteers. Under that law, these troops

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were therefore United States troops; and they differed from the regular army only in that they were raised for temporary purposes.

In subsequent laws concerning the volunteers, however, this feature was not preserved. The United States relinquished, in great degree, its right, so that during the Mexican War and during the Rebellion the States appointed all regimental officers. On July 22, 1861, an Act of Congress conferred upon Governors the power to commission all regimental and company officers for volunteers, which power was continued until the close of the war. In consequence the raising of a regiment of Volunteers does not differ from that of a regiment of militia raised for active service in war, but there is this distinction, that while it is held that the militia cannot be called upon, under the Constitution, to go beyond the boundaries of the United States, the "United States Volunteers" are considered available for foreign service; and that, in the volunteers, all officers other than regimental officers are appointed by the United States. It will, however, be seen that the terms "Volunteers, "Volunteer Militia," and "Militia" were often, in the calls for troops, used interchangeably.

6th. Troops raised by conscription or draft, by the general government, by means of an enrollment made by its officers in each United States District, without the aid or intermediation of the States. These troops, being incorporated in regiments of volunteers raised by voluntary enlistment, were named like them "Volunteers." They were raised under the general authority accorded by the Constitution to Congress to "raise and support armies." The constitutionality of the draft has been attacked, but never carried to a decision. In the South, this question was decided by the Supreme Court in favor of the government, as it undoubtedly would be decided in the Supreme Court of the United States.

We may now consider how the United States Volunteers were raised in the Civil War.

On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln called for "75,000 militia" for three months' service. Under this call some States furnished regiments of the National Guard. Others had few or no regiments of organized militia and called for "Volunteers," who being duly enlisted, were organized into regiments, and mustered into the service of the United States.

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On May 3, 1861, the President made a "call into the service of the United States of 42,034 volunteers to serve for the period of three years." By act of Congress, in July 1861, this call was increased to 500,000 men. It was promptly filled.

On July 2, 1862, a call was made by the President for an additional 300,000 "Volunteers" for three years.

On August 4, 1862, the Secretary of War, by order of the President, issued a call for a "draft" of 300,000 "militia" for nine months. "The Secretary of War," it said, "will assign the quota to States and establish regulations for the draft." "If any State shall not by the 15th day of August furnish its quota . . . the deficiency of Volunteers from that State, shall, also, be made up by special draft from the militia." Here we see that the President, in order to complete the number of Volunteers called for by a previous call, is obliged to invoke the authority of the Constitution, and the laws passed under it, for calling out the militia.

This "draft" was a State draft, enforced by the States, under regulations prepared by the War Department. The Governors appointed a commissioner of the draft for each county, with a deputy commissioner for each township, to make the enrollment of citizens of military age. Each township was credited with such men as had been already furnished by voluntary enlistment, and was obliged to furnish the remainder of its quota, if any. The drawing took place on stated days in each township, under the supervision of the Commissioners of the county and township. The men thus drafted were allowed to furnish substitutes, if they so desired. Some were exempted for disability; others being drafted, failed to report. The remainder on reporting for enlistment were sworn in and classed as "Volunteers." They were organized by the State into companies and regiments, the officers being appointed by the Governor.

On June 15, 1863, the President called for 100,000 "militia" for six months.

In the winter of 1862–63, the impossibility of keeping up our armies by volunteer enlistment had become so apparent that some more effective means of recruiting was seen to be necessary. On March 3, 1863, Congress passed the "Enlistment Act," whose main feature was conscription and the establishment of an entirely new method of raising recruits; the matter being placed

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in the hands of the general government, the authorities of the States co-operating and assisting. A Bureau of Recruiting was established for the whole country, under charge of the Provost Marshal General. To assist him Provost Marshals were appointed for each Congressional district. The co-operation of the States was effected through an Acting Assistant Provost Marshal General for each State. In each Congressional District a Board of Enrollment was appointed, consisting of the Provost Marshal, a Commissioner and a Surgeon. The Board divided the district into sub-districts, each sub-district being in charge of an enrolling officer. The lists made by each enrolling officer were revised and consolidated by the Board, and formed the basis on which drafts were made.

As soon as this system was in working order and the enrollment was completed, recruiting was continued with increased vigor. Calls were made October 17, 1863, for 300,000 men for three years; increased on February 1, 1864, to 500,000 men; and further increased, March 14, 1864, to 700,000 men. On April 23, 1864, 113,000 militia were called for, for 100 days. On July 18, 1864, a call was made for 500,000 men, for one, two, three, and four years, and on December 19, 1864, for 300,000 men for one, two, three and four years. In all, 2,678,967 men were recruited during the war, of which number over 1,250,000 were furnished after the inauguration of the United States conscription; 168,000 were actually conscripted, the rest being raised by the bounty system.

On a call by the President, for a certain number of volunteers, the quota for each State was determined by the War Department and transmitted to the Governor of the State. The Governor then usually issued a proclamation, stating the requisition for troops, and calling on the citizens to fill it at once. Letters were sent by him, to influential citizens of every county and township, asking them to interest themselves in the work, and appealing to their State pride, that it should be done promptly. By these citizens, in turn, public meetings in the towns were brought about, at which patriotic speeches were made, urging the citizens to maintain the credit of the community and State, by a prompt and effective response to the call. A plan of procedure was thereupon agreed to and committees chosen to select recruiting officers. These latter were usually candidates for com-

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missions ; besides being paid by the town or county for their services, they were often rewarded by a temporary commission, permanent commissions being conditional on recruiting the full organizations. Meanwhile State camps of instruction were established, one for each Congressional district. For these camps, commandants, quartermasters, adjutants, and examining surgeons were appointed by the Governor. After the first year of the war local bounties were offered by counties and townships, to encourage recruiting ; bonds were issued to raise the necessary funds. The men, on offering themselves for enlistment, were sent to the camps of rendezvous, where they were organized into companies and regiments. Recruits were allowed their choice of regiments, but they nearly all enlisted in new regiments. In an old regiment, neither commissions nor warrants could be held out as inducements to those who did the recruiting, and the chances of promotion, for a new man among old soldiers was slight. In addition, the fear that the hardest service would be given to the old regiments, had the effect of scaring off recruits.

The method of appointment of officers varied. In many cases, men of repute were authorized to raise companies and regiments, with the understanding that they would command them. In more cases the officers of a company were elected by the votes of the men. The most satisfactory plan appeared to be, to call for a whole regiment from some locality, generally a Congressional district, and appoint a commandant to supervise the recruiting. No commissions were promised, the selection of officers being left open until the regiment was filled up. In this way, a better opportunity was given to select the most worthy officers, the regiment being officered by its own members. When companies had reached the requisite number of men, they were mustered into the United States service by regular army officers, detached from their regiments for that purpose.

A bounty of $100 was paid by the United States to all recruits during the first two years of the war. After 1863 a bounty of $300 was paid by the United States in installments to three-year recruits, and of $400 to veterans on re-enlisting for three years. Local bounties were not common until after the draft commenced.

As stated before, by the Act of March 3, 1863, a system of conscription, directly applied by the United States, with the aid

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of the States, was established. On the issuance of a call from the President, the quota from each Congressional District was determined by the Provost Marshal of the United States. The quota were assigned as follows: As the total enrollment of the United States is to the call, so is the enrollment of the district to its quota.

The quotas thus obtained were reduced by credits. Certain persons, such as officers of the government, cripples, etc., were exempt. On the day appointed for the drafting, the names of all who were liable to draft, written on separate ballots, were placed in a wheel, from which a person blindfolded drew a number of ballots equal to the quota of the sub-district. The persons whose names were drawn were then examined, and enlisted by the United States recruiting officers. Persons drafted, could at first be relieved from service, on the production of a substitute, or the payment of $300. Much dissatisfaction was expressed at this latter proviso, and in 1864, the $300 commutation was repealed, and substitutes required in all cases. While the conscription lasted, voluntary enlistments were greatly stimulated. The fear of the draft caused citizens to exert themselves to fill the quota of their township or county by voluntary recruits, and this they accomplished partly by local bounties. To pay these bounties, the counties or townships issued bonds, thus shifting the debt to children or descendants.

To make the local bounties more attractive, they were not paid in installments, as was the United States bounty, but often in a lump sum at enlistment. The local bounty system was no sooner started than an active competition was commenced between different localities. Men who were tempted by the bounty to enlist, were likely to enlist, not in their own county or township, but elsewhere, where the bounty was larger. These men were credited to the district they enlisted in, and not to their own district, and thus the districts that offered the smaller bounty would be stripped of their available men, leaving the remainder exposed to the draft. The pernicious effects of this system are too apparent. Take for example two counties, one inhabited largely by well-to-do people, the other by a laboring population. Tempted by the larger bounty offered by the rich county, the able-bodied men of the poor county (which we will suppose offered a bounty inferior in amount) enlisted and were credited

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to the richer county, which thus escaped the draft altogether. Yet the quota of the poorer county was not decreased. The inferior bounty offered by the poorer county failing to attract recruits, the draft was mercilessly applied, and an unusually large proportion of the few men who remained conscripted. If any of these conscripted men had peculiar reasons for desiring exemption, they found that the larger bounties had so raised the price that substitutes were beyond their means. To make the matter worse, the richer county prided itself on its patriotism in having produced so many voluntary recruits that the "disgrace" of the draft was avoided. As a matter of fact, the men of the richer county had in reality purchased *substitutes*, paying for them in bonds, whose principal and interest was defrayed, not by them, but by their children, and by those who came after them.

Under this system the amount of the local bounties offered, in some cases, ran up to a thousand dollars. This dissatisfied the men who had been doing the fighting, and who bitterly compared their poor pay with the immense sums paid new recruits. The bounties increased as the war progressed, each call for soldiers being at the time thought to be the final call. The rise in bounties, and the difficulty in obtaining recruits, produced a class of men called bounty brokers, who exacted a commission on the bounties of the men they procured. These bounty brokers obtained recruits from the far West, and from Canada, for the richer communities of the East. Some were brought by force, or "shanghaied."

The States and districts having obtained permission to receive credit for sailors furnished before the draft was commenced, another class of brokers grew up called "credit brokers." These brokers hunted through the navy for men for whom the State or district had yet received no credit. Such men were as valuable to townships whose only object was to fill their quotas, as the legal number of *bonafide* enlistments. The declaration, true or false, of the sailors who claimed to belong to a certain township, brought the credit broker a certain sum of money, part of which went to the sailor. Some of the individual States, as the war went on, obtained permission to establish recruiting districts in the South (Massachusetts had five of these), where colored regiments were raised and credited to the State.

In some townships and districts every possible device was

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used to have men accepted who were physically or mentally unfit for service. Numbers of criminals engaged in the business of "bounty jumping," deserting after enlisting and after having received the bounty, to again enlist, and desert again on the first favorable opportunity. This greatly increased the number of desertions reported. By allowing the bounties in many cases to be paid to the bounty brokers, who shared them with the recruits, the civil authorities increased the rapacity of the brokers, who often were in collusion with the "bounty jumpers," and who stopped at nothing to obtain recruits and have them accepted. Looking back on this bounty system and its results, we cannot but feel that they constitute one of the most disgraceful chapters in the War of the Rebellion.

The custom of raising new regiments, instead of sending the recruits to fill old ones, was continued in States where the quotas were raised without having recourse to the draft. Volunteers preferred new organizations, some because it delayed their departure to the front, others because they felt that a green hand in regiments of veterans had a slim chance of preferment. On the other hand, recruits raised by the draft were at the disposal of the United States as it saw fit.

The bounty system, then, with all the abuses engendered by the local bounties, was a direct result of the conscription or draft; but all authorities concur in the opinion that the conscription was, during the Rebellion, delayed too long; that it should have been commenced a year or more earlier. It strengthened greatly the military power of the country. It filled up the old but weak veteran regiments and increased their effectiveness. The drafted men were, as material for soldiers, often superior to those who enlisted for bounty, and only inferior to the patriotic men who volunteered in response to the first calls. The draft forced States which had not filled their quotas in response to former calls, to contribute their share in the work of fighting, and thus silenced the charges of lukewarmness and dissatisfaction made by the people of other States. In thus reducing sectional strife and animosity, it made the nation strong. Abroad it at once raised the credit of the nation, for foreigners then first saw that the people were in earnest, and that they had at last made effective provision for developing the whole power of the nation. Foreign nations no longer debated interference.

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In the extraordinary and valiant resistance opposed to us by the South, the draft was one of the main causes of their tenacity. In the South there was no question of bounties; the conscription was early in the war applied with a rigor that forced into the ranks every able-bodied man, and brought out their whole fighting power. In the splendid fighting done by our opponents may be seen its value.

Having studied the details of the systems of recruiting by which our civilian armies (called Volunteers in contradistinction to the regular army) have been raised, it remains for us to consider what method should be adopted in future. There are several cases to be considered.

We might become involved in a purely defensive war, as with France or Germany, in which any offensive return would be made by means of the navy. Or we might have a defensive-offensive war, as with England. Or the war might be purely offensive, as in the case of Mexico, or a South American State.

In any case it would be well to provide for the expansion of our nucleus, our "skeleton army," our volunteer regular army.

Our experience during the war of 1861–5 was that the regular army, in competition with the volunteers, and as a result of the system of using commissions in the volunteers proper as an inducement for recruiting, wasted away. If provision is not made in any future crisis for mobilizing the regular army, we will lose a body of well-trained veteran soldiers, which would be surely of immense value in the period which must elapse before the volunteers could be made ready for active service.

I would accomplish this by localizing the recruitment; that is, by assigning on the outbreak of war each regiment of the regular army to a particular State for recruitment during the continuance of the war. Let the regiment bear on its colors, "Recruited in the State of ———." Fill the infantry companies and artillery batteries up to 200 men; the cavalry troops to 100 men, by successive batches of recruits; each lot of recruits being forwarded as soon as the preceding lot have had time to become drilled and assimilated. Appoint in each company, with the assistance of the Governor of the State to which assigned, a "third lieutenant," and fill all vacancies, afterward occurring among the lieutenants, and not absorbed by the usual appointments of the United States Military Academy (who should have

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precedence) by commissioning citizens of the State in which the regiment is recruited. Such appointments to be on the Governor's recommendation, after due examination, but to be made only in case the companies and batteries have a minimum strength of 150, and the troops of 80. Establish for each regiment a home depot for recruiting purposes.

This would act as a powerful aid in keeping the regular army effective. The States would take pride in their regular regiments. The new recruits would be whipped into shape in half the time consumed in the volunteers. Men desiring to enlist would prefer an organization where the officers knew their business, provided it was raised in their own State. The commissions, as in the case of volunteer regiments, would act as an inducement to activity in recruiting. Our regular infantry force of 250 or 300 companies would very soon gain an efficient strength of 50,000 or 60,000 men, our artillery of 12,000, and our cavalry of 12,000. Since great numbers of regular officers will be detached for service with the volunteers, and since the companies will be larger, the extra lieutenants will not be found superfluous.

The further addition to the regular army of new battalions or regiments, under these or like conditions, might be a course that would commend itself to Congress.

In an offensive war, carried on at a great distance from our shores, the militia, being home troops, cannot always be expected to be available for foreign service.

In a war of any duration the organized militia is not in number more than is necessary to preserve order at home.

The regiments of the National Guard, however, will always form a splendid bulwark against the first tide of invasion. Unfortunately, they can be called into the service of the United States for but short periods only.

The militia organization of the United States acts as a school of war, in which will receive their military training large numbers of men, who, in time of war, will officer and train our raw levies of volunteers.

On the outbreak of war it should be the policy of our government, after making proper provision for raising and maintaining the regular army to an efficient strength, and after calling into the service of the United States such regiments of the National

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Guard as are needed to repel immediate invasion, to make a call for United States volunteers, to serve *for the war*, to be raised by voluntary enlistment. This call should include enough troops for all contingencies. On no account should the term of service be limited to three months, six months, etc., as was done at the beginning of the war. It was found that during the first war fever it would have been as easy to obtain enlistments for the whole duration of the war as for short periods like six months. The desertion of regiments of short term men, when important operations were pending, has jeopardized many campaigns.

It is better that the States should have the raising and officering of these first troops (making due provision that officers should pass certain examinations), since the co-operation of the States in the work of raising the regiments, insures expedition. It is also better, as a stroke of state policy, as well as military policy, that a large number of troops should be called for, since it deters the enemy, and awakens the people to a sense of the seriousness of the crisis.

This first call being made, and the regiments being in process of formation and training, Congress should, in case of a war with a first-class nation, at once enact a law of conscription. In this way only can we keep the ranks of our regiments filled, cause disaffected localities to contribute their full proportion of men, and maintain the credit of the State, by showing the world that the policy of the government will be supported by the whole able-bodied strength of the nation.

To allow the counties and districts to escape the draft, by furnishing alien substitutes through the bounty system, seems unwise. I have already detailed the evils of this system. Under the guise of patriotism it works the most arrant injustice. It is a drawback to recruiting, in place of being an aid. It interferes with the efficiency of the armies, by causing new regiments with green officers to be raised, when old regiments, with trained and experienced officers, are useless for want of men. It leads to corruption, thieving and trickery. It works for the rich against the poor. It creates local war debts of immense proportions, to be paid by descendants. Its constitutionality is even a matter of doubt.

And yet we must take into consideration the possibility that this discredited system will survive. If it does, then its worst

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features should be expunged. Communities ought not to be allowed to bid for men from other places. To prevent this, when the first enrollment is made, each community should be credited with every one of its men then in service, and every soldier should thereafter be credited to the township of which he is an actual resident or voter, and to none other. No man should be received under the bounty system unless, as is the case with our peace recruits for the regular army, he can produce verified testimonials from at least two persons in good standing, certifying to his character and good habits. This will be a deadly blow at the whole machinery of bounty brokers, bounty jumpers, credit brokers, etc. Bounties other than the United States bounty should have their total limited to an amount not greater than two years' pay, and required to be paid in instalments. The bounty should be paid to the volunteer in person, by the proper officers, and not to the broker, and any agreement by a volunteer with any broker, or agent, for the payment to him of any part of a bounty, should be declared void. The call should be made for men of an age between certain limits, the younger men being called out first. Thus, the liability to draft not being general, the bounty system will be less likely to be adopted.

In concluding this article, it may be well to take into consideration the financial aspects of our volunteer system. It should be remembered that modern wars are paid for not so much by those who take part in them as by succeeding generations. While great sacrifices are made, a war does not, as a rule, directly impoverish the people of a country, as formerly was the case. Taxation is of course increased, but the great sums necessary are largely obtained by issues of bonds. The ability of a nation to raise money on bond issues depends much upon the resources of the country, but also largely upon the amount of the national debt already existing. If this is small, war may be conducted without raising materially the rate of taxation. If, on the other hand, the national debt be unduly large the power of the nation to borrow is limited, and the sums needed to prosecute the war have to be obtained largely by immediate and extreme taxation. Every dollar, then, that is devoted to reducing the National Debt may be said to have been deposited in the Nation's War Chest.

In the War of the Rebellion our money flowed like water. In our desperate endeavor to succeed little foresight was shown,

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and in our gratitude to the victors we still further built up the tremendous load of obligations by a pension list which astounds the world. We enlisted in that war two and a half millions of men. These men cost us for pay a thousand millions of dollars; for United States bounties, three hundred millions; for local bounties, three hundred millions; for pensions already paid, two thousand millions. The Volunteer system, then, is a costly system. By it both men and money are wasted. It is doubtful whether the sacrifices which result from our adherence to it do not equal those we would endure were we to emulate the patriotic submission to universal conscription of the people of the nations of Europe, and thus secure the effective means of preparing in peace for war.

JAMES PARKER.

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OUR DUTY TO OUR CITIZEN SOLDIERS.

BY LIEUTENANT J. A. DAPRAY, U. S. A.

HOWEVER much public opinion in this country may have divided in times past respecting the necessity or wisdom of a permanent military establishment, it would seem that the era has at last arrived when vital interests demand that the question receive the deliberate, fair, and intelligent consideration which is necessary to determine the extent to which a safe and judicious government must rest on efficient military organization.

There has never been a time in our history when some recognized national leader, wiser and bolder than the average, has not vainly sought to impress upon the law-makers the necessity for military preparedness. Washington, before and after our National independence had been secured; Alexander Hamilton, in his commentaries on constitutional enactments and his estimate of the insufficiency of the militia system; Henry Knox, Secretary of War; Eustis, after his trouble with the New England militia; James Monroe, author of the doctrine that the National authority was superior to that of the State over the militia in time of war; President Madison, whose two Secretaries of War, even while battles raged, resigned their portfolios, declaring the militia system a failure; John C. Calhoun, who fearlessly advocated the absolute necessity of maintaining a military army in keeping with the enlarged population and increasing resources of the country; General Jackson and other commentators on the Seminole-Indian wars; all these and many others more recent, whose voices were lifted out of the early disasters of our great Civil War, have urged the need of a more perfect military establishment than has ever existed in this country. Without exception, too, all of our military scientists have repeatedly proclaimed the necessity for better military organization.

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Nevertheless, against all modern principles of self-government and all demands for adequate military protection of our magnificently developed resources, minor politics holds to the theory that the government of the United States was established upon a fixed and never-to-be-changed non-military basis. In refutation of such arguments, however, the Constitution itself might be quoted, for in it is found authority for Congress "to define and punish offences against the law of nations," "to raise and support armies," "to provide and maintain a navy," "to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces," and "to provide for the calling forth of (a well regulated) militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection and to repel invasions." Indeed, we find the most ample authority, specifically set forth in careful language, for that elastic, progressive military establishment, which doubtless the founders of this government foresaw would in time become necessary. As if to declare their confidence in the two great powers of the State, the civic and the military, and to indicate the close relationship which should at all times exist between them, the makers of the Constitution provided that the President of the United States, elected by the people as a civic chief, should also be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. Who, then, can gainsay the fact that the theory of our government, as manifested in the Constitution itself, was from the beginning in favor of the sensible, economical, safe political doctrine that in time of peace we should prepare for war.

But admitting, for argument's sake, that the innate or inherited prejudice against a regular army which prevailed during the earlier stages of our governmental development, tended to create political opposition against all military improvement; and conceding, too, that like our English ancestors we have had our eras of suspicion and dread of military ascendency, is there a school of politicians now so narrow as to perceive danger at this time in perfecting that one branch of our government whose weakness, resulting from long neglect, imparts a weakness to all? As President Lincoln once said: "Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them;" and as he added in another message: "As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthral ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

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To the man who perceives occasion for alarm in a duly organized military system, let it be recalled that the future war armies of the United States, like those of the past, will be composed of citizen patriots, whose patriotism, impelling them to risk life in defence of country, would never permit them to menace its institutions or to endanger its liberties. The military power in the United States was never so great as in 1865, when General Grant, in command of over a million civic soldiers, after the object of war had been attained, quietly laid aside his sword to become the people's leader in their civic affairs.

During the first year of the Civil War 553,492 men were in active field service, and when the Confederate banners were lowered at Appomattox there were 1,034,064 Union soldiers under arms. At that time some political prophets were apprehensive lest that great military legion could not safely be returned to their homes. The War Department records, however, show the extraordinary fact that within two months and seven days after the 29th of May, 1865, 640,806 men were mustered out of the military service and started on the homeward march to the loved ones so anxiously awaiting them, the remainder of the volunteers following afterwards.

Verily, a military power so huge as that, which proved itself loyal to the institutions of government when military power itself was supreme, could well be trusted when circumscribed in time of peace by the law of the land which they are sworn to uphold.

In the United States we have never had a war army that was not almost entirely composed of the civic reserve soldier. It is true that the law maintains a small standing regular army, whose peace footing in the past ninety years has varied from eight thousand to twenty-seven thousand men, but in time of war heretofore no effort seems to have been made to enlarge permanently the standing army. During the war of 1812 and 1814, greater use was made of the regular army than in any subsequent war, on account of the absolute failure of the militia to meet the requirements. In the Mexican war the experiment of raising volunteers was tried, but it was not until 1863 that Congress legalized the volunteer system and gave to the President of the United States the unlimited power in war to call forth whatever number of men he might deem necessary for defence.

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Now, it should be noted that, however jealous the civic legislators may be of the establishment of military power, when war is threatened all rush to provide for what they are pleased to term the national emergency. In 1812 there was no quartermaster, commissary, or ordnance department in our army, and, if the official historian of that war is to be believed, all of the early disasters and humiliations suffered by our army in the field were due to the lack of clothing, of arms, and munitions of war, for which governmental parsimony, made necessary through the want of proper military legislation, was responsible. In the War of 1812 quartermasters, commissaries, and ordnance officers, appointed only after the national emergency had occurred, were compelled to formulate their systems of supplies almost under fire. During the Seminole Indian Wars thirty millions of dollars had to be expended in twenty-five years to accomplish what might have been accomplished in the first year had ample provision been made to prevent the immense loss of life that followed. In 1861, even with an extra force and enlarged facilities, the Springfield Armory, then the only Federal gunshop in the Union, manufactured but 13,802 guns, whereas under the calls for troops in that year 700,680 men were supposed to be under arms. At the time of that national emergency it became necessary to ransack the junk-shops and outhouses of European arsenals for arms to equip the legions that took the field, and no one can estimate the loss of life which our unpreparedness for that war entailed upon our people. Only lately it was found necessary in another national emergency to adopt drastic measures for the public defence, and suddenly the propositions, which for thirty years had been vainly recommended by military scientists to Congress for adoption, were hurriedly approved of in hastily enacted laws.

Even recently, when in an outburst of patriotism fifty millions of dollars were appropriated for immediate expenditure for national defences, much, if not all, of the money thus paid for foreign labor could have been distributed amoug our own people, had that measure for defence been more timely inaugurated. The willingness and capacity of law makers to meet the emergencies of national peril are laudable, but need it be said that all emergency measures are necessarily less carefully devised than those which are framed with calm and deliberate judgment.

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Besides, while in national emergencies ploughshares may be quickly turned into bayonets and defences hurriedly completed, not all the millions in the treasury can change the uninstructed citizen into a trained soldier.

The time has come when better understanding between the people and their leaders should prevail. If the Constitution imposes upon the citizen the obligation of military service in the time of emergency the people should not be deprived in time of peace of ample opportunity to be instructed and prepared, at least in the elementary duties of the soldier. There are those who find in the past achievements of our people and their eagerness in time of war, a ready answer to all suggestions regarding the necessity of war preparations. Because untutored civic soldiers during our great war rushed from the field, the workshop, the counting room, the factory, the store, and the quiet home, to learn their first military lesson on battle-fields, the political economists assert that, with such a people in reserve, neither military organization nor military instruction is at all necessary before war is declared. Alas, the political economists are as a rule military theorists only! Their knowledge of wars is not generally derived from personal observations of battle-fields. They do not hear the groans of dying soldiers, nor do they count the lives which proper military organization and timely military training might have spared to our people in every war they have fought.

The fact that the only law on the statute books providing for the organization and armament of the militia of the States was passed over a hundred years ago speaks eloquently of omission and oversight on the part of those charged with the duty of providing for the well regulated militia of the constitution. If the militia were armed and equipped in accordance with the provisions of that law it would become the guy of nations. Think of a modern people governed by a law which provides for the ludicrous spectacle of a dragoon armed with pistol and pistol holster covered with bearskin, or a rifleman armed with flintlock musket and carrying bullet pouches and powder horns! Yet such is the requirement of that unrepealed militia law, which no political power has yet been bold enough or wise enough to attack.

The strategy of war may never change, but the tactics of battlefields are constantly changing and being modified with the

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advance of military science and improved weapons. Over a quarter of a century ago it was deemed advisable to send the greatest tactician in the American army, with a corps of able assistants, to travel around the world and ascertain the improvements in military organizations. The report of that commission was commended to Congress by the President of the United States, and for twenty-five years since has been constantly urged upon the attention of Congress by every President and Secretary of War, but it still awaits action. What we need in this country is careful attention to what military experts proclaim to be necessary for improvement in our military system—improvement which should be made before the battle begins. We need a careful analysis of the whole question of military necessities and organization.

We need now as we have needed since the War of 1812 a military commission, or a commission of well informed civic legislators, to determine the best policy for a reserve military. It is not intended to advocate the establishment at this time of a "regular" army in keeping with the increased size of our population; but it is intended to suggest that in a country where every man is presumed to be a possible soldier, a larger army than that we now have of 25,000 men could be wisely maintained, for the dual purpose of keeping intact a necessary element of government and of maintaining a medium for practical military instruction of the masses.

But aside from whatever argument may be made in respect of a large standing army, the purpose of this paper being in behalf of what is due to the citizen soldier of the land, it is argued that one of the first duties of the government now is to formulate a system for organization, armament, and mobilization of a military reserve force. With over fourteen millions of arms-bearing men and 112,000 uniformed militia, a military commission or a legislative committee, charged with the adjudication of the question, would find a splendid basis of operation. The Federal government should have authorized voice in militia organization and the President should have constitutional right in time of peace to call out the militia for the purpose of either drill, inspection or instruction. When in 1893 it was proposed to mobilize a hundred thousand men at or near the Columbian Exposition to show the world the capacity of the government to

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mobilize under our volunteer military system, it was found there was no Federal authority for the scheme, which depended solely upon the pleasure of the various State commanders-in-chief.

Notwithstanding all the achievements of our volunteer armies in our two last wars, it must be conceded that in any war likely again to occur it would be exceedingly hazardous, not to say positively fatal, to follow the experiment of a McClellan volunteer army. That army had arrayed against it a mass of newly-made soldiers but little superior, in a military sense, to the men of the North, and yet even that little superiority told; for, as a famous general once asserted, nearly all of the early disasters on the Federal side during the Civil War were due to the rawness and inexperience of the freshly enrolled Union soldiers. If there is another war our enemy will be one or more of the military nations of Europe, whose soldiers will not be inexperienced. Said Lord Wolseley, in a warning to the British government: "You may collect together in a few months a great mass of armed men that will do to fight another mass of men similarly organized and constituted, but all experienced soldiers know how ridiculous it would be to send newly raised and untrained levies into action against a well established army."

The people have never before appeared so anxious for military enlightenment and training as now, and in a country where the law theoretically holds every male person between the ages of 18 and 45 liable to military duty, the people have a right to some of that military knowledge which is now spreading over the entire world. The people want to be educated in military science and tactics. Every year colleges, schools, and universities are petitioning Congress for military instructors, and, notwithstanding that only a few years ago the number for that purpose was doubled, not half the colleges which desire military instruction can have an officer detailed. At every State military encampment army officers are asked for. Many of the Governors have regular army officers detailed to assist State officials, and even the common schools are clamoring to have military instructors detailed to supervise their drills.

All these signs have an unmistakable meaning. The people desire that their youth shall be drilled. Mere drill, it is true, does not make a good soldier, but drill will make a natural soldier a better soldier and more subject to discipline in an emergency.

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In a paper on military instruction, referring to the proposition to reduce the expenses of the military establishment, John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, said in 1820 : "Economy is certainly a very high political virtue, intimately connected with the power and public wishes of a community. In military operations, which, under the best management, are expensive, it is of the utmost importance; but by no propriety of language can that arrangement be called economical which, in order that our military establishment in peace should be rather less expensive, would, regardless of the purposes for which it ought to be maintained, render it unfit to meet the dangers incident to a state of war."

It was also one of the terse assertions of Mr. Calhoun that "no truth is better supported by history than that, the circumstances being nearly equal, victory will be on the side of those who have the best instructed soldiers." The great Napoleon who produced the military axiom that "Heaven is on the side of the strongest battalions," afterwards modified that high sounding dogma by declaring that competency of officers, and especially of subalterns, gave the most valued strength to the backbone of an army.

Following the thought of those two great men, the important question confronts us, how can we best provide a system for officering a million of civic soldiers who must be ready for the field in our next war ? Admitting that from among the fourteen million of arms-bearing citizens we may be able to gather an army of able bodied men equal to the hardships of field service, capable of learning within a brief period enough of the rudiments of military drill to enable them to move in column and form in line of battle ; admitting that they will take naturally to the rifle and be able to handle it with that calmness, coolness and precision which modern fire-discipline requires on battle-fields; admitting that the great mass of private soldiers and petty non-commissioned officers may be quickly massed in an emergency ; it is nevertheless a fact that the most serious problem of our next war will be the securing of competent and trained men to act as officers and leaders of this great army we are counting upon in reserve. Bear in mind that aside from the private military schools where a limited degree of military training is conducted, the only Federal military establishment in this

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country graduates on an average only about fifty young officers annually. Assuming that the limit of age for the officers of the volunteer forces in time of war will correspond to the limits prescribed for the soldier, viz.: 18 to 45 pears of age, it must be borne in mind that if war should occur to-morrow only 1,200 men who graduated in the past twenty years at the age of twenty-one would be eligible within the forty-five years' limit. But are not all of the officers that have graduated up to date needed for the present small regular military establishment? To officer an army of one million men would require 35,000 regimental officers alone, to say nothing of the large number required for the staffs of armies, corps, divisions, and brigades. From whence could that number of experienced or competent men be drawn? It is true in our late war, it is asserted, one New York regiment alone furnished over 600 officers, but that was an exceptional case. Doubtless, there are regiments in the National Guard of the States and companies in the States that could supply a large number of officers, but it is respectfully submitted that the time has come when military statesmanship should give more thought to the leadership of men than has been done heretofore. New York State organizations should not be expected or required to furnish officers for Kansas or Idaho. Each State, under a generally well fostered rule, should be assisted to maintain State pride by having State troops officered by competent State officers.

There has been a great revolution in war methods within the past generation and vast improvements have been made in war implements. Military leadership is no longer within the reach of every civic layman. Even the born soldier, so-called, must know something more than how to draw the sword; and the usefulness of the leader in battle will depend more upon knowledge of soldiery and military training than upon individual acts of gallantry or personal example of bravery. The officer must be able to teach, direct, train, and instruct the raw material which he will find in the massive ranks of the volunteers. Since the government relies for defence chiefly upon volunteer armies, it is a poor policy, if not a fatal one, to postpone the organization, drill, and discipline of the reserve until they are needed in war. Drill and discipline presuppose organization and are prerequisites to battlefield success. In the war of Secession, as Major-General Merritt asserts, it took one year to prepare our volunteers for

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combat, and that policy, due chiefly to the lack of experienced officers, bad enough then, would be more fatal in any future war. The periods of our wars are lessening as weapons are improved and their tactical uses perfected. War, it must be remembered, is "a method of compulsion used by one nation against another." It has been defined to be a duel between nations wherein might is superior to right. The future wars must be of more gigantic magnitude than ever before. The nation that is but half ready at the declaration of war, if the antagonist be equally strong and fully trained and equipped, is more than half whipped before the first battle. Indeed, as Major-General Merritt says in his criticism, which is on the reference list of every military library in the world: "No war between war-making powers of Europe in the last thirty years has taken the time that would be necessary to prepare the best reserves we have for the field." Those who count in war chiefly, if not alone, on the bravery and patriotism of our untrained people are reminded that, while military enthusiasm and national patriotism are undoubtedly marked American characteristics, the admonition must be recalled that "enthusiasm and patriotism alone will not gain battles, but may add to the gravity of disaster."

What this country needs is that sort of military statesmanship which will recognize the inevitable in time of war, be guided by the experiences of war, and look with open eyes to the certain effects of given causes and conditions. Then will the fullest military capacity of the people of this American republic be demonstrated. Proud as have been past achievements, no man can estimate the future of a country whose vast resources are amply protected by a suitable military system of defense. It is not intended in this paper to prescribe a remedy, but only to point out the vital defect. Any one of the remedies proposed from time to time to Congress by the proper military advisers of the nation would do well enough, in the beginning at least. But for the sake of common sense, if not for the sake of our people, let some military statesman arise to champion and expound the policy enunciated by Washington, "In time of peace prepare for war."

J. A. Dapray.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY MADAME BLANC.

COLLATED BY THEODORE STANTON.

BEFORE Mme. Blanc ("Th. Bentzon"), perhaps the most distinguished of living French female writers, sailed for America last spring on her second visit to our country, I asked leave to publish extracts from her letters to me, which I knew were replete with interesting paragraphs that, if carefully culled and put together, would make almost a complete autobiographical sketch. The permission was promptly granted, and this explains why publicity is given to the following unedited notes.

* * *

Here is an account of Mme. Blanc's life from her birth to the moment when she entered upon her literary career :

"I was born at Seine-Port, a delicious village in the Department of the Seine et Oise, where lived Villemessant, the famous founder of *Le Figaro*, in a place once owned by my grandmother ; where still resides the venerable M. Legouvé, and where first saw light M. Berthelot, both members of the Academy. From my cradle days I was surrounded by types which no longer exists of the old French social system. Thus, I was in the charge of one of those legendary nurses, who, after spending thirty-seven years in the same family, drew her last breath surrounded by her master and mistress and the children whom she had brought up ; I was served by faithful old domestics, the like of whom are no longer seen ; my spiritual welfare was cared for by the rustic country priest, an almost daily commensal at our house, while the schoolmaster was accustomed to make his appearance in blouse and wooden shoes. And what picturesque relatives I had !

"My grandmother, after the death of Major-General Adrien Benjamin de Bentzon, who was governor of the Danish Antilles, married the Marquis de Vitry, a perfect type of the old régime, whose full name and prowess are recorded in M. de Foudra's

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book, entitled *Les Gentilshommes Chasseurs*. Ex-musketeer of the King, ex-officer of the body guard under the Restoration, I looked upon my grand stepfather as if he were my real grandfather, so tenderly had he acted toward my mother from her seventh year. M. de Vitry was a boy of thirteen or fourteen when the great Revolution broke out and remembered it perfectly well. He was a superbly handsome man, always young, good beyond conception, and so prodigal that several fortunes slipped through his hands. I never remember seeing him in other than a modest situation, which he bore as nobly as the luxury of his better days.

"My grandmother cared no more than he did about these changes of fortune. She always had enough with which to do good, and was the ministering angel of the country round about the Orléanais village where was their country home. In my childhood I lived there a good deal. My parents spent the summer in Touraine and the winter in Paris. But circumstances caused myself and brother to be often with my mother in that dear home whose customs, when I compare them with those of to-day, seem to have dated a century back.

"An admirable English governess started me and my brother on our education. It is to her that I am indebted for my love for English literature. She set me to reading works which were far beyond my years, but which I understood very well. After the Waverley Novels, I was carried away by Washington Irving, which was my first acquaintance with America.

"While still very young, I was discovered to have literary tastes, though of course the thought that some day I would enter upon the career of an author never occurred to anyone, and if it had, it would probably have horrified everybody. I was eight years old when my English governess went into raptures over this phrase, which she underlined: "A rosy smile dimpled thy round cheek." It occurred in an elegy to 'My Broken Doll,' written in English. I have never forgotten that line. I stood high in the classes in composition and rhetoric, and my father, while careful not to awaken vanity in me by too much complimenting, often carried off in his pocket my copy-books in order to show them to admiring friends. Mine was an education by fits and starts without diplomas at the end, with much reading and dreaming, with meditation in the country and with some travel, especially a

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never-to-be-forgotten sojourn in Germany, But certainly the most perfected curriculum of studies would not have been so favorable to the awakening and development of the imagination.

"At the bottom of all that I have done I find the moral influence of my mother, who especially preached by example; the British impulse given me by my dear Miss Robertson, who inculcated love of truth and simplicity; the traditions at the home of my grandparents, who kept me a century behind in many things; a passionate love of nature due to long years spent in the country where I have passed the greater part of my life; the keen sensations of the beauties of a landscape; the precocious curiosity to learn and the revealed happiness which comes from scribbling.

"I was married at sixteen. Three years of sorrow followed, in which maternity had its place. Then the melting away of what fortune I had, justified the development and affirmation of my literary tastes. Consequently, I have always looked upon poverty as an obliging friend, for it placed the pen firmly in my hand. Though I had long written for my own amusement, only once had I seen myself in print, and, curiously enough, I made this *début* in English dress. I had translated *Les Bachi-bozouks* of Viscount de Noé, one of our friends. These episodes of the Crimean War had appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1859. It would be quite impossible for me to perform such a feat to-day. In fact, I have always suspected that Colonel de Noé, who was English on his mother's side, must have touched up the manuscript before publishing it, if it really did appear, which he told me was the case.

"My mother married twice, her second husband being Count d'Aure, equerry of the Emperor and a superior man in every respect. He was my literary providence. It was through him that I made the acquaintance of George Sand, that woman of genius, whom I visited at Nohant, and whose counsels and encouragement I enjoyed. She recommended me in vain to Buloz. But my talents, in which she believed—she would often say to me: 'At twenty-two I could not have done what you are doing' —were not yet ripe for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

"One day Mme. Sand urged my stepfather to read the charming first book—*Un Cheval de Phidias*—of him who has since become a celebrated novelist, Victor Cherbuliez. I reviewed it for a

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sporting journal. George Sand sent the author my notice without telling me so, and Cherbuliez returned a word of thanks to the office of *La France Hippique*, supposing it the work of some man on the staff. I replied, without revealing my identity, and if my letters seemed to interest him, it is mainly because I was aided by the thorough knowledge concerning things equestrian possessed by my stepfather, who was one of the most famous horsemen of France, having commanded at the Saumur Cavalry School, where his methods are still quoted as authority on equitation. And thus it happened that I was in correspondence with Cherbuliez for over twenty years before making his personal acquaintance. I have still two or three precious letters of his which I carefully guard, especially the last one, addressed to M. d'Aure, who finally let him into the long-kept secret.

"But the person to whom I am the most indebted in the matter of literary advice is the late M. Caro, the famous Sorbonne professor of philosophy and himself an admirable writer, who, as he used to say, put me through a course of literature, acting as my guide through a vast amount of solid reading and criticising my work with kindly severity."

* * *

In another place Mme. Blanc thus speaks of her own father:

"I have social affinities with Germany, my father's family being of Teutonic origin. My father's life was most adventuresome, most romantic, being dominated by the passions. I have always thought that perhaps it is a law of heredity that the active qualities of the father are transmuted in the children into imaginative qualities. I sometimes think that I must have dreamed what he lived. My idealism, my enthusiasm, my sentimentality, are German qualities, though held in check by certain other French ones. This mixture of races surely explains a kind of moral and intellectual cosmopolitanism which is found in my nature. My father of German extraction, my mother of Danish —my *nom de plume*, which was her maiden name, is Danish— with Protestant ancestors on her side, though she and I were Catholics; my maternal grandmother a sound and witty Parisian, gay, brilliant, lively, with imperturbable physical health and the consequent good spirits,—surely these materials could not have produced else than a cosmopolitan being."

* * *

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So much of Mme. Blanc's literary work has been in the form of criticism that this paragraph is interesting:

"It is impossible for me to make so generous a confession as yours as regards literary criticism. I have very often severely censured what is bad, not, however, from a moral standpoint, but from a purely literary one; for, in the eyes of a true critic, it is, perhaps, the greater crime to violate the laws of literary taste. What always shocks me is a judgment based on any other than purely literary ground."

* * *

In this same letter occurs this rather curious history of *Un Divorce*, one of Mme. Blanc's earliest novels, which was republished last year:

"It is not, as one of my American critics seems to think, the first gropings of an inexperienced pen. For ten years I had already been writing in the newspapers before I produced this book. At that time women long hesitated before bringing out a volume. M. Bertin, the famous editor of the *Journal des Débats*, having read one of my novels in a periodical which no longer exists—the *Revue Moderne*—probably discovered some merit in it, for one morning his nephew, the late Léon Say, afterwards a distinguished public man, called on me and invited me to write a story for the *feuilleton* page of the *Débats*. I promised to have one ready in six months, and thereupon left for Goslar, Germany, where I used sometimes to spend my vacations and where I had relatives and friends. My tale was finished and in the hands of the *Débats* when the Franco-Prussian war broke out. I thought it would never be printed, for sympathetic Germans were not likely to please the French reading public after 'the terrible year,' at the moment when Paul de St. Victor seemed to have struck a popular note by declaring Teutons to be barbarians and bandits. To my grand surprise, however, M. Bertin had the courage to publish my story. While it was coming out, my friends, M. and Mme. Caro, who were at Roujoux, in Savoy, the guests of François Buloz, founder of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, called his attention to this new production of an author whose MSS. he had frequently rejected, notwithstanding the warm support of George Sand. He was sufficiently struck by the story to ask me immediately for a novelette—*La Vocation de Louise*—which appeared in January, 1872,

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and whose success opened to me definitively the pages of the *Revue*. Thus I owe everything to *Un Divorce*. It is the key to my career. Although, when examined from the standpoint of a knowledge of one's trade, I could do better now, I feel pretty sure that the critic who places *Un Divorce* in the first rank among my imaginative works does not go far wrong."

* * *

In another letter Mme. Blanc writes:

"My relations with America have almost always been of a kind which create and strengthen lasting sympathies. Let me give you a few examples of this.

"I had translated Bret Harte when I received a letter from Ralph Keeler, who afterwards disappeared so mysteriously, being probably lost at sea, addressed to 'Mr. Bentzon,' and inspired by a most disinterested friendship for Aldrich. The letter called my attention to *Marjorie Daw*. I immediately translated it and it appeared over the author's name alone—I rarely sign my translations—in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of January 1, 1873. Aldrich afterwards told me of the joy of his friend when the latter handed him the periodical without saying a word as to who had thus worked for his glory. This was the origin of my twenty-five years' friendship with the Aldrichs.

"I owe one of the dearest affections of my life to an article entitled *Le Roman de la Femme-Medecin*, which appeared in the *Revue* of February 1, 1885, inspired by Sarah Orne Jewett's *Country Doctor*.

"So when I went to America for the first time in 1893 I had these true old friends and several years of intimate correspondence with them based on an exchange of ideas quite equivalent to a life-long of visits.

"But, however much I may be indebted to your country, I think I may feel that I have paid back this indebtedness in part at least by the publication of my book, *Les Américaines Chez Elles*, which has done not a little to advance in France the moderate and rational side of the woman cause. My book cannot be understood in the United States, where I am found to have said only what everybody knows there, but what nobody knows here, this last fact being its *raison d'etre*."

* * *

I might go on and give further extracts from the sheets lying

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before me. But the above will suffice to call renewed attention to a delightful French woman, whose real sympathy for us and our institutions, whose broad understanding of America and Americans, things so exceedingly rare among her fellow countrymen and women, will not probably be the least of her merits, and she has many, in our eyes.

THEODORE STANTON.

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MEN AND MACHINERY.

BY STARR HOYT NICHOLS.

THE first matter to be settled before a correct view of any subject can be formed is the question, What are the facts of the case? That settled, we may reason intelligently about it; otherwise, with the courtiers of Charles the Second, we may long be looking for reasons why a fish weighs more out of a vessel of water than in it, and we shall have only our search for our pains. Perhaps if Bishop Potter, before expressing, in his article in a recent number of this REVIEW, his very kindly anxiety respecting the injury done to mechanics by the monotony of much of their work and its inevitably debasing effect upon them, had instituted a wide inquiry as to whether in fact machinery had exerted any such effect upon mechanics, he might have found that his sympathy was wasted. The Bishop, indeed, followed excellent authorities, but possibly he was over hasty in doing so. "Error lurks in libraries," says Goethe, and so it does in authorities. The sun should have gone around the earth, doubtless, as many scholars, philosophers and observers of former days said it did. But it did not.

So when Mr. Whately Cooke Taylor accents quite truly the supremacy of the machine in modern work over the mechanic, the proper thing to do is not to lament such supremacy as an evil, and then ask, "How far this supremacy shall be allowed to extend?" but rather to inquire whether the supremacy is an evil or a good, and afterwards to lament or rejoice according to the conclusion established.

Mr. Hobson also, in his "Evolutions of Modern Capitalism," while conceding that "the work of a machine-tender calls for judgment and carefulness," laments that these qualities are confined within ever-narrowing limits, till they reach the very nar-

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rowest in attention to the monotonous repetition of the same act, and he thinks the gain therefrom is less than its injury to workmen. Professor Nicholson thinks that "machinery of itself does not tend to develop the mind as the sea and mountains do." Dr. Arlidge says, "it arouses no interest and has nothing in it to quicken or brighten the intelligence." Mr. D. A. Wells says, "it dulls by its monotony the brains of the employee to such an extent that the power to think and to reason is lost." A railway superintendent avers that the best engine drivers are those who are most unintelligent and mechanical in their work, and Mr. Hobson again asserts that since the "law of machinery is a law of statical order," and the law of life is dynamic, requiring order as the condition of progress; since "variety is of the essence of life and machinery is the enemy of variety," machinery is the enemy of life.

But if these authorities had asked workmen in various detailed industries whether, as a matter of fact, the workmen who labor at one fragment of a machine are noticeably duller than their comrades, they would have found that this is not the case. They might have inquired among the bicycle makers, or the sewing machine makers, or the glass makers, or the garment makers, or anywhere else, and they would have discovered that men who did but one little thing in those industries were quite alive and quick-minded; that they were bright enough to have baseball nines for their leisure, and nines too that were proficient in the best points of the game, and able to contest victory with men not so employed. They would have heard that monotonous work, being easy, relieved the strain of mind and body which varied hard labor entails, and left the workman not too tired at night to go to his club or his union and hear discussions as to rights and wrongs of labor; and that it is the freshness with which these parties can enter into discussions which occasion their discontent, and not the dullness of their tasks. In fact, it is easy to see that mechanics as a class are far brighter and more intelligent than day laborers and farm hands, though both of the latter have multifarious things to do. These change the form of their work every few minutes, yet both remain much the same for fifty years together, making no progress, rising little in the scale of their work, or their capacity for affairs, or their wage-earning power. Whereas mechanics are always advancing in one way or another and are really the centre

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of all the energy and force of the laborers' movement. Who would ever go to toilers of the sea, or to railroad diggers, whose occupations are varied, to inculcate ideas or inaugurate a social change? But mechanics hear, discuss, resolve, and adopt or reject many notions for better or worse. Their work has notoriously broadened and quickened them. They are more acute, not less; more reasoning, not less; more interested in life and not less, than those whose industries are more various and interesting.

Nor is the reason of the mechanic's superiority, development, in spite of the monotony of his work, far to seek. In the first place machines and factories bring workmen into close association, and man sharpens the face of man much more than seas and mountains do, more than variety of work does. Men educate each other mostly, and the more monotonous the work, the less it engages the workman's mind and the more he casts about for entertainment and diversions with his companions who are near at hand. Trees and open fields and animals, calling for much especial variety of dealing, make but farmers and cowboys and stablemen, who, compared in wits with mechanics, are distinctly of a less active type. No one would go to them to air his theories of social change, or his proposals for improving conditions under which laborers shall live. In truth, the close association of men herded together in factories and towns is the main cause of the superiority of the modern man over his predecessors and forebears. Mechanics have freed their minds by freeing their bodies first, and then developed them by attrition with other minds of like grade. The machine alone, if they had been alone with it, might have blunted their powers; but it could not come to one alone, it required many to work it. An ancient weaver, throwing his shuttle back and forth by hand, toiled without comrades, almost as solitary as were Crusoe and Friday. He became expert in patterns and colors, as rug makers are, but that was all. To the larger horizons eagerly scanned by modern groups of men eager for socialism, or higher wages, or shorter hours, or better factories, or more schools, his eyes would be as dull as those of fisherman or shepherd. It is not monotony of employment that dulls; it is monotony of social surroundings and companionship. A man may dip pin-heads all day and be all the more spirited for association with his comrades when his day is done—and so, in fact, he is. When a carpenter had his wood to saw and plane

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and chisel by sheer dint of strong muscle, he exhausted his whole energy in his day's work and was ready for nothing but supper and sleep when the stars came out. But a modern carpenter, who has all those slow and toilsome tasks done for him by mills, is quick and vital when his lighter task is done, and joins with his mates to inquire whether or not the single tax would be good for him and his fellows.

One risks nothing in saying that our own times are times of machinery beyond everything else, and that our people are as much ahead of all former times in activity of mind and quickness of interest in life and thought as they are in speed of travel and quantity of goods produced. If one wishes to find sleepy-headedness, slow wits, stupid looks, dull apprehension, he must visit mountain villages, where everybody has to do everything, where are countless varieties of duties for each, but lives dismally monotonous.

The Brook Farm experiment may lend us some instruction to the same end. They were clever men, the best wits of their generation, who believed that variety of employment was good for the mind, so they farmed and philosophised awhile, and with so much success that their shining Apollo, Emerson, afterwards wrote that "though no land is bad, land is worse," and declared that a man might weed his garden till he lost all track of his ideas.

It is well for the shoemaker to stick to his last; it is better still if one does nothing but supervise a lasting machine or a peg-driving machine or a forming machine, or what not. He may not learn so much about making whole shoes, but he will certainly know a great deal more about many higher themes—and to know all about shoemaking is not much of an object in life. Many people live very intelligently without a deep knowledge of dress-making or tailoring or carpentering, or any of these things, and their lives are entirely discontented notwithstanding.

Mr. Whately Cooke Taylor, therefore, may spare his lamentations as to the impending supremacy of machinery. The machine's perfection is man's release from toil. The more it does, the freer is the mechanic. If we could devise a harvester which would drive itself over a field, oil and repair itself, arrange weathers to suit farms, and generally leave farmers to read papers, consult books and visit their neighbors, the farming community would

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greatly profit by the change. They would be free to attend to chemistry, landscape gardening, the study of soils and other higher matters; but now they are nature's drudges and bond-slaves from excessive toil.

Dr. Arlidge, too, may cease his forebodings. Perhaps "variety is the essence of life, and machinery is the enemy of variety," without its being true that machinery is, therefore, the enemy of life. For the machine does the man's work for him and releases the man. He escapes into variety. Work is not man's chief end; rather is enjoyment of life his end, and life is more than work. The vast variety of the modern world has been brought out by machineries which have released man's hand and mind, and the dullest plodders at machines have more variety of life than any dwellers on wide steppes, or variously employed hunters of primeval woods. If variety of tasks developed mind, the maid-of-all-work ought to be the brightest of her sex, and the jack-at-all-trades the cleverest of men; but they are not.

Finding, therefore, as we do, in machinery the greatest motor of progress and the deliverer of mankind from grinding toil and debasing poverty; finding also that the mechanic is eager, intelligent, progressive, we feel no apprehension respecting some other ultimate effect of machinery upon mechanics and the world. True, the modern mechanic is the forefront of modern discontent, and by his unions and strikes makes himself felt most uncomfortably, and it is true that the machine has made him so; but it has made him so not by "the strain of its monotony;" nor is it the effect on his nervous system of monotony, since the most skilful and least monotonously employed are most discontented. Slaves live far more monotonously than he and yet develop no general unrest. One never hears of strikes among Eastern shepherds and graziers, nor among desert Bedouins, where monotony reigns supreme. The mechanic is discontented because he sees many people better off than himself and wishes to be as well off as they. He wishes to better his condition, and machines have made so many rich that he thinks they should do as well by him. He is contriving to see if he cannot make them do so, and his discontent is not ominous; it is promising. He ought to be discontented; his condition is far below what he should make it. He does well to think and talk of making it better. If he were contented as he is, he would be a poor-spirited creature, unable

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to rise. The source of all advance is just this discontent with one's conditions. Let contentment take possession of any class and its future is doomed. Neither man nor nation rises after that. China droned and drowsed for centuries because of her patience. Late be the day when the American shall stupefy himself with the "drowsy syrup" of content.

And the discontent of mechanics and others will have its way, not in "a day of reckoning," not, as anarchists foretell, in another French Revolution; not in a "painful and costly awakening" of the comfortable classes to exasperating conditions among toilers; not in anything dramatic, spectacular, violent, nor in great floods of benevolence. It will make its way to better conditions through the further supremacy of that very machinery concerning which we are asked, "How far shall this supremacy be allowed to extend?" One might as well ask how far the supremacy of a weather-wave should be allowed to extend. We are here in the sweep of irresistible natural forces, no more to be resisted by States or votes or unions or devices, than is the swelling of tides or the course of winds in the sky.

This machinery, which has already released mankind from bondage to space through locomotive and bicycle, from bondage to time through the telegraph, from bondage to ignorance through cheap printing, from rags and nakedness through abundant clothes, from famine through abundant food, from cold through warm houses, from dangers of the sea through mighty steamers, from poverty through multifarious and miraculous plenty of production, from thousands of discomforts and perils by thousands of inventions—this machinery, which has lifted man out of the isolation, distrust, hatred, and narrowness of former days, is surely equal to its remaining task of making its own benefits so general and all-providing that the workman will find himself comfortable and happy because he too shall dwell in the midst of plenty. What we need to attain this end is only better machines which shall produce ten or an hundred times as much as that now produced, with one-tenth or less of the labor; machines which shall make the necessaries of life so plenty and cheap that low-priced laborers can buy all they need; machines that shall tax the mechanic's energies so little that he shall prefer to attend them rather than pass his time in idleness; machines that shall do all the drudgery of work, leaving to labor

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only the finer intellectual and artistic parts; machines that, like electricity, shall attend to all his errands *en route*, and complete his labors almost as easily as now the sun and the rain raise his crops, and more uniformly.

Against this most beneficent agent and chief creator of general welfare, it is true, are banded together at present many an interest and many a mistaken philosopher. The mechanics themselves are at war with the progress and dominance of machinery. They see in it their daily and tireless foe, which is always winning new fields from them, taking away their jobs, destroying the usefulness of their fingers by its greater speed and accuracy, ruining their prospects, supplanting their knowledge. Every new and better machine seems to throw many men out of work, and they see no end to it if "the supremacy of machinery is to be allowed to go on." Every day there is something new, and every day some one loses his place because a better machine dispenses with his services; so they hate machines and sometimes smash them, and always oppose new ones. That every one of them is better off for past inventions they forget; that railroads, steamboats and machines of past times of every kind have given to workmen comforts, luxuries, pleasures, beyond the wildest dreams of their forefathers, they ignore. All they see is their job and its loss. No wonder it is so; the job is their daily living. No one can lose the bread from his mouth without rage and fear. But they should look a little further ahead and see that the more machines there are the more men are employed. Shut off the steam and electric works from New York City to-day, and to-morrow one-half of New York would be obliged to move out of town. The city could not even feed one-half its population at hand labor. Two-thirds of them would have to leave and go to the country to get work and bread. The more machines produce, the more there is for everybody; and the more there is wanted, the more work there is for everybody. Because one merchant fails, there is no reason for all merchants to rail and storm. Mechanics must learn to manage better. Because one class of laborers lose their work temporarily, the rest need not chafe and strike. The only way is to manage to know more, to be quick to shift to new conditions, to be ready to change and to learn novelties. The world must improve, though the individual is hurt. We build railroads and canals, though men are killed

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doing it. We mine coal and sail ships and run electric wires and break horses and blast rocks, though lives are lost at these and other employments. In the same way we must go on inventing and using improved machines, though some are thrown out, because that way lie the prosperity and plenty of the future world.

Another class who oppose machinery are the artistic, who clamor for beauty in everything. Ruskin is their distinguished prototype. But beauty is only a secondary consideration in life. The first thing is to live and then to live beautifully, and so long as the machine increases the comforts, conveniences and utilities of life, we must hail its prevalence. Beauty may come later, if it cannot come first. But as a matter of fact, the most beautiful thing ever known to man is the gift of machinery. Where in former days art was narrow and small, within the reach of few, now it is widespread and descends to the enjoyment of the many; so that we have but to lift up our eyes to see that beauty now blossoms on every side where formerly it was confined to the church, the museum and the palace.

The third class who oppose machinery are the short-sighted sentimentalists. They hear that workmen are thrown out of place by some new inventions which enable one to do the work of five, and straightway lament, forgetting that the new device enriches fifty consumers where it temporarily injures one workman. They deplore the monotony of machine work, forgetting that the majority of human minds are weak, and slow, and could do little in the world but for simple tasks adapted to small and barren brains. Those monotonous toils suit them exactly; and the better minds quickly rise out of that class to something better. The exact and punctual habit, which the machine engenders, trains careless minds with a discipline most wholesome. He who without the machine would be clumsy, slow-witted and left-handed is drilled by it into quickness and dexterity, till he becomes expert and superior. The machine has this virtue, that the sight of its own complexities stimulates clever operatives to study to understand it better and to rise to mastery in the use of it. He who begins as a pinhead dipper in his youth often ends as a master mechanic or inventor. There is no barrier. Only those remain below who choose to do so, the fittest mount. And those who are left are left because their places suit their abilities; without such places they would be unemployed.

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And discontent does not arise among the lowest class of workmen; it springs and ferments among the best, and is simply a part of the universal and laudable desire of man to better his condition and to repine because it is hard work to do so.

But the improvement will come and will reach a height which we who now live would regard as a wild dream, an "Arabian Nights" romance. And it will come, as all past improvements have come, through improvements of tools and machineries, for these alone can increase the plenty and resources of mankind. When invention shall have improved mechanical devices so that fifty yards of cloth can be produced as quickly as one now, and for the price of one, each man can have fifty for one. When a pound of coal can be turned into four-fifths of its power, instead of only one-fifth as now, mankind will have power to give away. When the farmer shall have devised means to multiply his crops ten or twenty fold, bread will be almost free. When houses can be built for a song, they will rent for a song.

When, in short, abundance of things is so great as to be only less than that of air and water, then will mankind revel in plenty, and the miseries of cold and hunger and raggedness and ignorance and grinding toil and desperate need will pass away. And this plenty machinery carries in its train, as it sweeps forward to its conquests, though mechanic, artist, sentimentalists, public opinion and foolish law fight never so hard against it. The stone which the builders join in rejecting will become the head of the corner. If all would conspire to establish and then forward its onward movement, its benefits would come with accelerated speed, since now it has to make its way against curses, and often against strikes and stones, and combinations manifold. Nothing can be more melancholy than to see lovers of their kind in the ranks of its opponents, because of some few incidental and temporary harms from it. It reminds one of Eastern mobs, who in frenzy assault physicians on suspicion that they are spreading the plague. But though hindered, its progress cannot be stayed, and its supremacy "will be allowed" to extend to the ends of the earth, because of its unrivalled beneficence.

What Henry George expected through his single tax, a millennium of plenty, will come through improved machinery. What statesmen expect through just laws, a millennium of order and progress, will come through improved machinery. What

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moralists and reformers expect through excellent sentiments and right reason, a millennium of virtue, will come through improved machinery. What prohibitionists desire through legislation, a millennium of temperance, will come through improved machinery. What socialists and anarchists seek for by new industrial conditions, a millennium of comfort to all classes, will come through improved machinery. What the Church seeks to bring about upon the earth, a millennium of peace and good will to men, will come through improved machinery. For machines multiply goods into plenty, and plenty broadcast means peace and kindness and comfort and temperance and gracious thoughts and reasonable minds and civil order and equal laws. A natural plenty like that of Samoa does not mean all these things; but a made and manufactured plenty, by reason of the industry it engenders, brings all millenniums in its hands, and nothing else can. Therefore, its agent, the machine, must prevail, whoever may oppose.

STARR HOYT NICHOLS.

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SUBURBAN ANNEXATIONS.

BY A. F. WEBER, ASSISTANT REGISTRAR OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

THE latest forecast of American life in the twentieth century predicts the downfall of the "boss," the abolition of political corruption and class legislation, equality of opportunity, the triumph of international arbitration, the cessation of sectional discords, and a universal reign of peace—until the cities of New York and Chicago go to war to decide which shall annex Texas! Chicago was the target of every journalistic joke-maker in New York up to two years ago, when the "Greater New York" idea came to the front. But Chicago with all her annexations has only 189 square miles of territory, while New York now covers 360 square miles of land. This gives New York the first place among the cities of the world, so far as mere extent of territory goes. For London (administrative county) has an area of only 118 square miles, Paris 30, Berlin 24, Philadelphia 129. What, then, is the justification of this immense annexation, or is it only a land-grabbing scheme to gratify local vanity and a false municipal pride?

A brief survey of the population statistics of Europe and America suffices to show that the great cities have ceased to grow as rapidly as the smaller cities and large towns. Thus the recent German census (1895) showed a gain for Berlin in the census period 1890–95 of only 6.2 per cent., as compared with 11 per cent. for the province of Brandenburg, in which Berlin is situated.*

Instances might be multiplied in illustration of this interesting fact, but the following English statistics show how general is

* Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1896, p. 1.

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the tendency mentioned; the unit is the sanitary district, which corresponds quite closely with the conception of a municipality:*

Population of districts.	No. of dists.	Aggregate pop., 1891.	Percentage of increase, 1881–91.
250,000 and upwards.....	6	6,375,645	9.1
100,000-250,000.....	18	2,793,625	19.1
50,000-100,000.....	38	2,610,976	22.9
20,000- 50,000.....	120	3,655,025	22.5
10,000- 20,000.....	176	2,391,076	18.9
3,000- 10,000.....	453	2,609,141	9.6
Under 3,000.....	195	367,282	2.6
Total urban 1,006		20,802,770	15.3
Total rural		8,198,248	3.4
		29,001,018	11.65

The last column of the table shows that the rate of growth of cities increases with their size (populousness) up to the first two classes. There is a slight falling off among the 18 cities that have a population of from 100,000 to 250,000, but the notable decrease in the rate of growth is in the six great cities—London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield. Of these six, Liverpool actually had a smaller population in 1891 than in 1881. Now, no one who is familiar with the continued growth of Liverpool's commerce imagines for a moment that the city is declining. The simple fact of the matter is that the area of the city is very small, being only eight square miles, as compared with the 61 square miles of St. Louis, a city not quite so populous as Liverpool. When the city's territory had all been built upon, population naturally overflowed its boundaries, and in recent years the erection of business blocks in residential quarters has tended to push the population outside the city limits.

London's increase in 1881–91 was only 10.4 per cent., but some light is thrown upon this comparatively low rate by the statistics of county growth. The first three counties, in point of rapid increase of population in 1881–91, were Essex, 36.3 per cent.; Glamorgan, 34.4 per cent.; Surrey, 20.5. But Essex and Surrey both lie adjacent to London and contain the suburban towns that receive the overflow of London's population; thus West Ham, in Essex, increased from 128,953 in 1881 to 204,902 in 1891, a gain of 60 per cent.

* Statesman's Year Book. 1896, p. 19. The American statistics are not used here, because they include so many cities in the recently settled West, where the rapid growth of cities naturally accompanies the settlement of unoccupied territory. It is only when the development of the cities outruns that of the rural districts and is at their expense that one can properly speak of the "concentration of population," which is the real significance of rapid city growth.

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One now begins to understand why the great cities of the world are apparently falling behind smaller places in the rapidity of their growth. On the one hand is the process of "city-building," the tearing down of dwellings to make room for business blocks; on the other hand are the improvements in transportation, which enable an increasing proportion of the city's population to reside at a distance from their places of business. The double movement is relieving the congested districts and filling up the suburbs. As far back as 1821 the Strand, one of the central wards of London, attained its maximum population and has since declined. The following table shows the direction in which London is now developing: *

	Population.	Percentage of increase or decrease.	
	1891.	1871-81.	1881-91.
Central area	1,622,529	— 4.6	— 7 2
Other districts	3,188,527	+ 29.3	+ 17.5
Inner London	4,211,056	+ 17.3	+ 10.4
Outer ring	1,422,276	+ 50.5	+ 49.5
"Greater London"	5,633,332	+ 22.7	+ 18.2

Eleven of the thirty registration districts of "inner London" decreased in population in 1871–81 and 1881–91. The decline began in 1861 and has become more noticeable at each census. The other nineteen districts are still gaining in population, though at a decreasing rate. The really remarkable growth in London is found in the outer ring, or the suburbs. And this is the important fact to be emphasized—the recent rise of the suburbs in all the countries of the Western world. The falling off in Berlin's rate of growth, noted in the opening paragraph, is due to this fact of suburban development, as shown by the following figures:

	Population.		Increase.
	1890:	1895.	Per cent.
Berlin	1,578,794	1,677,136	6.2
Suburbs †	268,507	435,642	62.2
Total	1,847,301	2,112,778	14.4

The larger American cities have also reached the "point of

* Statesman's Year Book, 1896, p. 20. "Inner" London is the registration county, which is almost identical with the administrative county (area 118 square miles). "Greater London" coincides with the metropolitan police district, whose area is 690 square miles. It includes every parish of which any part is within 12 miles of Charing Cross.

† Within 10 kilometres (6⅛ miles) from the city hall. Including all the suburbs within 15 kilometres of the Rathhaus, "Greater Berlin" had a population of 1,956,581 in 1890.

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saturation," where the first settled districts have been losing their population. "Down town" New York was more populous in 1860 than in 1890. In fact, the only wards that gained in population in the last census period, 1880–90, were the wards above Forty-second Street, with the exception of that part of the tenement district lying south of Fourteenth Street and east of the Bowery. According to the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, the population of the congested wards of Philadelphia (Nos. 2 to 20, except 15) decreased 6.56 per cent. in the period 1870–90.*

The decentralizing movement has also extended to the suburbs, especially in those cities like Boston where the electric trolley has been so highly exploited. Even in the case of New York, whose suburban railway system is very poor, there has been a growth of the suburban towns and cities far in advance of New York's growth. Thus, the industrial city on New York Bay may be resolved into the following municipal corporations :

	Population—	
	1880.	1890.
Brooklyn	566,663	806,343
Long Island City	17,129	30,506
Border Towns, Westchester Co.†	42,234	70,502
Hudson County, N. J‡	187,944	275,126
Essex County, N. J§	189,929	256,098
Elizabeth City, N. J	28,229	37,764
Richmond County, N. Y	38,991	51,693
Total	1,071,119	1,528,032
New York County	1,206,299	1,515,301
	2,277,418	3,043,333

It thus appears that the Borough of Manhattan comprises really less than one-half of the true metropolis. And the increase in the population of the environs far exceeded that of the city itself, the respective percentages for 1880–90 being 42.66 and 25.62.‖

The conclusion to be drawn from the statistics here presented is that the movement toward suburban annexation is not an artificial one, but is simply the legal recognition of new economic conditions. It is a movement confined to no one country, least of all to the United States. In Europe there have been large

Popular Science Monthly, Feb., 1892, p. 463.

†Yonkers, Eastchester, Westchester, Pelham, Mount Vernon, New Rochelle.

‡The population of Hudson County is for the most part found in the cities of Jersey City, Hoboken, and Bayonne.

§Newark and the Oranges contain most of Essex County's population.

‖In this comparison the complaint that the census of 1890 was inaccurate has no place, for the inaccuracy would affect Brooklyn as well as Manhattan.

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suburban annexations in recent years. Vienna in 1891 incorporated suburbs with a population of 464,110 (as compared with 798,719 in the old city), and is already looking forward to the necessity of making further annexations to provide room for her citizens. Leipzig incorporated many suburbs in 1891 and again in 1892. Munich, Dresden, Hanover have also annexed outlying territory, and there are few of the German "great cities" that are not obliged to face the problem.

The "rise of the suburbs" is by far the most cheering movement of modern times. It means an essential modification of the process of concentration of population that has been taking place during the last hundred years and brought with it many of the most difficult political and social problems of our day. To the Anglo-Saxon race life in the great cities cannot be made to seem a healthy and natural mode of existence. The fresh air and clear sunlight, the green foliage and God's blue sky are dear to the heart of this people, who cannot become reconciled to the idea of bringing up their children in hot, dusty, smoky, germ-producing city tenements and streets. But a solution of the problem is now in sight; the suburb unites the advantages of city and country. The country's natural surroundings, the city's social surroundings—these are both the possession of the suburb.

The possibility that the future offers of every man residing in a cottage of his own, can best be appreciated by people who have visited Australia. In Victoria and South Australia, more than *two-fifths* of the entire population dwell in the capital cities. No such concentration of population as this is known anywhere else in the world. Only one-seventh of the population of England and Wales is concentrated in the metropolis of London. But the large agglomerations in Australia are by no means "plague-spots," or "wens on the face of the earth," the explanation being that their population is not congested, but scattered over a large area. This is brought out in the statistics of the city of Sydney, which contains over one-third of the entire population of New South Wales*:

	City proper.	Suburbs.
1841	29 973	. ....
1851	44,240	9 684
1871	74,566	63,210
1881	100,152	124.787
1891	107,652	275,631

* Census of 1891, Statistician's Report, p. 120.

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The old city has almost ceased to grow, notwithstanding the fact that it is not at all crowded. Its density per acre is only 37.4, a figure exceeded by every ward in New York City below the Harlem, except the Second, which is entirely given over to business. Even the Twelfth Ward, north of Central Park, contained 44.5 inhabitants to the acre in 1890. But in Sydney it is the ambition of every workingman to own his own cottage, and so the population is scattered.

It is pretty safe to say that in the next century, the other city populations of the civilized world will be following in the footsteps of the Australian cities. The bicycle and the trolley car will be of essential aid to the middle-sized cities, but alone are incapable of relieving the congestion of the great cities. More rapid transit is urgently needed for metropolitan populations and is the only soluiton of their problem that in the long run will prove efficacious. The fact is recognized in England, where in 1883 Parliament passed the Cheap Trains Act, subsidizing the railways by about $2,000,000 annually, in the shape of a remission of passenger taxes, in order to provide workingmen's trains between London and the suburbs. The subject demands attention in all great cities.

A. F. WEBER.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR.—IV.

BY SIR WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, LL. D., SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF "THE TIMES" (LONDON).

I found at Cairo that foreigners were taking a leading part in military organizations. Of the staff officers, one was Hungarian, another Austrian, a third German, a fourth a Scotchman, a fifth an Englishman. A regiment a thousand strong, at the Missouri side, consisted of Germans, Poles, and Hungarians. General Prentiss told me that he had 1,200 Illinois men in garrison where the Mississippi and the Missouri met—a miserable, pestiferous mud bank which is supposed to have been the original of "Eden," the city where Mark Tapley was so jolly in one of Dickens' novels. The General drove Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, Colonel Oglesby (a lawyer elected by a thousand men to be their Colonel), and myself round the camps. General Prentiss was called upon to make a speech; so did the Colonel and the Congressman. Their speeches were received with approving commentaries. "Bully for you, General! Bravo, Washburne! That's so, Colonel!" "Why have not the officers more control over their men, General?" "Well, the fact is that the term of service of these volunteers is drawing to a close. They have not yet enrolled themselves in the U. S. Army. If they were displeased they might refuse to take fresh engagements, and the officers would find themselves without any men. They, therefore, curry favor with the privates."

I left the camp at Cairo by the Central Illinois Railway for Chicago in the afternoon of the 23d. At all the forty little stations in the 365 miles of the way the Union flag floated in the air. Prairie ground, all of it, wheat fields in lieu of Indian corn, cotton, and sugar cane! No black faces turned from the work as we passed! At Richmond House letters were waiting

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for me which gave me full assurance that I need not be in a hurry. There was no immediate prospect of the Federal army making an advance to Richmond, and further I had a few days to look round Chicago, inspect Niagara, and make for Washington. I arrived at New York on the 2d of July, had an interesting conversation with Bancroft Davis, and afterwards called on Mr. Bancroft, whom I had known at Vienna or Berlin. In the middle of a long disquisition by the eminent historian, a diversion was effected by Mrs. Bancroft, who asked me "whether I had been sent over by the London *Times* to describe the death throes of the great Republic. We are not quite done for yet!"

I dined with Butler Duncan where there was a pleasant party, Colonel Rowan, Sam Barlow, Evarts, Seymour, etc. A most remarkable change in feeling had taken place since I last sat at that hospitable table. All there were for the Union now.

July 3d, up at five o'clock; started 6.15 for boat and train for Washington at seven o'clock. Camps along the road near Baltimore, the approaches to which were well guarded. Met Wyckoff on the bridge, who told me that Gordon Bennett was much exasperated against "me," the *Times* and "Great Britain." Washington at 5.30—quarters, 179 Pennsylvania Avenue; found Lord Lyons sitting with Monson in the garden and heard a good deal that was new to me. On my way back met Mr. Sumner, who acquainted me with strange particulars concerning the relations between France and England with regard to the Confederate States. He asked me to come to him to-morrow for the opening of the Senate.

July 4. A day of perpetual detonation—fireworks, crackers, cannons. The streets filled with volunteers, the Stars and Stripes flying from every building. Rode off to visit Colonel Butterfield, of the 12th New York Regiment. Colonel Butterfield expressed politely his disapproval of the attitude of the British government. Calling at the Legation I gleaned from various indications that there was friction in the relations of Lord Lyons and Mr. Seward—the latter very provocative. Called on Mr. Seward, who certainly has become grander than he was. My passport, he said, was ready for me—it had been signed by Lord Lyons, but it would be no good till he had signed it and then it must be countersigned by General Scott. Drove to the Capitol, where I was met by Senator Sumner and was introduced by him and Senator Wilson to "the floor of the House." I was accommodated with a seat at Senator Sumner's desk, where I remained much interested till the sitting was closed. Called on the President, who was with Mr. Seward at the State Department.

July 5. A friend whom I had met in happy, peaceful days, when I was in retreat with my family near Thun, on my return from the Indian

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mutiny, made me out to-day to my great delight (Mr. John Bigelow, afterwards U. S. Minister at Paris). He advised me to call upon General Scott. I went to headquarters, where Colonel Cullum showed me the positions of the Federal army around Washington in confidence. General Mansfield and others were closeted with the Commander-in-Chief. Called on Riggs, Mme. Stoeckl and the General, Lady Georgina Fane, Mrs. Clifford; dined with Lord Lyons and his legationaries, Monson, Sheffield, Warre, Irving.

July 6. Breakfasted with Bigelow to meet General McDowell, commanding the army of operations across the river. In the prime of life, square, and strong. A smooth, honest face lighted with keen, blue eyes, short-cropped iron-gray hair and French tuft; a frank, pleasant manner. He gave me a hearty welcome to his camp, and said: "I will show you the makings of a fine army." He spoke pretty strongly about political generals and the interference of party men with military matters. He was interested when he heard I had met Beauregard and spoke of him with liking, recalling the days when they were at West Point together. An excellent band playing in the President's garden, to which we listened afterwards. Soldiers, soldiers, everywhere. The hill at the other side of the Potomac, crowned by an ancient mansion belonging to Robert Lee, covered with tents pitched in the park-like grounds, Arlington Heights to wit. In the afternoon a regiment some 1,200 strong, marching through Pennsylvania Avenue, singing in chorus "John Brown," fine, hardy-looking young soldiers with camp and equipage and transport. North and South there is a Zouave eruption which is rather ridiculous; there is no *raison d'etre* in it; the uniform is expensive, showy, and theatrical. Why should American soldiers copy the uniform of the African soldiers of France?

July 7th. Breakfast with Bigelow, where were Thurlow Weed, Senator King, Senator Wilson, head of the Military Committee; N. P. Willis, a West Point professor, Mr. Olmsted. Senator Wilson inveighed in a marvellous manner against professional soldiers. "They don't understand a war of this kind. We want men of sense and courage who understand our political position. Meigs, the Q. M. G.? Yes, he's an exception; he's an able man. What business had McClellan to talk of slaves as property. No officer in this army should give up any slaves. Army officers were obstructive. General Scott was too old—he did not understand his business. He should have occupied Harper's Ferry and Manassas Junction Gap. Cavalry were not wanted." And so forth. I listened. The Senator, I was told, had been a shoemaker in early life. Why not? But why should he be chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate?

On the 8th I visited Arlington Heights, where I spent the greater part of the day with General McDowell. Instead of 100,000 troops in a state of efficiency, of which I had read and heard, there were not 30,000, and some of the regiments were incomplete and undisciplined. General McDowell told me that "there was no such thing as a decent map of Virginia." Years afterwards I was assured by French officers that they could not get good maps of the northeast parts of France! "The roads in this part of the world," said the General, "are very bad, but I know nothing more than that about them. I have no cavalry

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to push a reconnoissance through the dense wooded country which screens the enemy completely in the front of my lines."

Questions were put to me at the White House in the evening about my visit to the Federal Army. In answer to an inquiry about the camp I told Mr. Lincoln that I heard "a good many dropping shots," generally forbidden in camp and quarters in Europe, and that an officer explained that "they are only volunteers shooting themselves." "Well," said the President, "that seems a waste of good material in every way; however, they will soon have a chance of making better use of their ammunition, I hope."

July 9th. A great swarm of correspondents has settled down on Washington. Any officer who will descant on the war is certain to have a circle of listeners, notebook in hand, and when the fountain has run out or shuts up, off they rush to the telegraph office or to the writing-rooms, which are filled with chroniclers of the gossip of the hour. I dined with General Scott in his new headquarters near the War Department, General Fremont, the Pathfinder; Mr. Bigelow, three members of Congress, Mr. Clarence Brown, and the General's aides-de-camp, etc. Fremont, a pleasant, self-satisfied looking gentlemanly man, rather prone to expatiate on military and political subjects, expressed strong opinions respecting "the audacity and presumption of Davis, a traitor and a rebel, sending a communication to President Lincoln. His flag of truce should not have been received." A remark about the difficulty of getting horses that would stand fire afforded General Scott an opportunity of telling us that he intended to take the field in a light wagon, which was always ready with driver and horses in the stable. He cited the example of an astonishing number of commanders who had adopted that mode of leading armies in action and was pleased when I added Radetzky and Pelissier to his list. The excesses of the Germans in hunting horses, eggs, chickens on the Virginians' farms made him very angry. Fremont diverted fire from his favorite Germans by asking me if I was not familiar with such depredations in Europe. As it was getting late, the President accompanied by Mr. Blair joined the party and I thought it proper to retire.

July 10th. I had a hint last night that the Secretary of War and General Scott had resolved to prevent the transmission by telegraph of military movements by the newspaper correspondents in the United States. I rode over the Long Bridge to the camp at Arlington again this morning, and saw the men at drill. A very noisy function generally, rich in expletives in various tongues. One regiment of Frenchmen, raised by a famous fencing master of New York, seemed very smart. The colonel, on his arrival, asked his friend the Russian Minister, Stoeckl, to dine with him in camp. The Minister begged to be excused, saying he could not venture to do so. "May I ask why?" "Because, my dear friend, how could I ever stand muster in your camp? You have 500 hairdressers in your regiment, I am told." "Well, then, suppose I dine with you?" "How do you think I could offer you a dinner worthy of one who has 500 cooks under his orders?" They were soldierly enough to look at for all that. I crossed the Potomac by the

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Chain Bridge and returned to Washington. Congress was busy with preparations for war. I entered the House of Representatives as Mr. Vallandigham was protesting against a bill to enable Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, to raise a loan of $250,000,000, which was, nevertheless, passed immediately. In the Senate a bill for the employment of 500,000 volunteers and a credit of $500,000,000 was also passed by a great majority The Southern ports are closed by a decree of the President. I called on Senator Cameron, Secretary of War, at his very modest residence. He was beset by crowds of contractors, with whom he was battling vigorously. He drew a very long face when I asked him for an order to draw a field officer's rations for self, servant, and horses at cost price when the army took the field. He was startled. "I am willing; but, mind, all your brethren will want the same. There won't be enough for them all, and woe betide me if I refuse. You had better talk to Seward about it."

July 12. The diplomatic circle much agitated. General Stoeckl, M. Mercier, Baron Gerolt, M. Lisboa in constant communication. Lord Lyons and M. Mercier exchanged daily visits. Mr., generally called "Little", Woods, appointed Quartermaster General to Fremont by Blair's influence. Called on President Lincoln, who received me immediately. "As far as he was concerned he thought I ought to get whatever I needed to eat and drink as long as I paid for it." Busy hunting through livery stables for horses—managed to buy a nice wagon for the field. Just as I had got so far the colored gentleman whom I had hired at Quebec bolted, taking with him things not his own, money included. I never saw him any more! General Scott says I shall be able to procure what I want with the army as long as I have money.

July 13th. Uncle Sam burst upon me early this morning much excited. "McClellan is the man," he exclaimed, "everyone is talking of his victory." He attacked a corps of secessionists under Garnett at Laurel Hill and dispersed them with a loss of the commander, who was killed, and of six guns, camp equipage, ammunition, etc. The engagements took place on the 12th. McClellan demanded unconditional surrender. He had become a hero, or the hero of the hour. Garnett, whom he defeated, had been commandant at West Point. Colonel Pegram, who was trying to join Garnett, a West Point man also, with a high reputation, also surrendered to McClellan, who had thus scored heavily. In consequence of illness in the Federal camps, Sanitary Commissioners are to proceed to visit the Federal garrison. It is not to be wondered at that an impromptu army should need the advice of experts in such matters. I met some of the gentlemen last night; Clarence Brown assured me that there will be no immediate start, but thinks I ought to get ready. Four regiments have been added to McDowell's army which is deficient in cavalry, some troops of the second dragoons being the only regulars. Colonel Miles is glad that officers of the regular army are receiving a fair share of commands in the force under McDowell.

July 14th. Having an intimation from General McDowell, in the strictest confidence, last night that some days must elapse before he could break up his camp and move against the Confederates at Manassas, in front of Richmond, a hasty resolution set me off in company with Sanitary Commissioners to visit Fortress Monroe. The name of General Butler becoming much in evidence—a vigorous politician at all events, energetic, too, in movement and command; he had been much before the public in reference to the status of runaway slaves, "contrabands," as they were termed. The

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attitude of the Federal government and of Secretary Cameron was much disapproved of by the Abolitionists, and Butler's letter on the subject was very embarrassing to Washington, where the idea that Federal armaments were intended to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the rights of slave-owners was energetically repudiated. Our steamer from Baltimore arrived at the wharf of Fortress Monroe in the early morning. We had some time to wait ere General Butler appeared, but there was a morning parade of the garrison to amuse us, and we could contrast the white gloves, polished belts, and buttons, bright appointments and soldierly smartness of a regiment of regulars, with the slovenly aspect of a Massachusetts volunteer battalion, and the Second New York Regiment. General Butler was very civil, more so, perhaps, to myself than to Dr. Bellows, the Chief Commissioner, a very estimable and eloquent clergyman. The Hygeia Hotel, once a favorite summer resort of the Virginians, was now an army hospital. Lady nurses in attendance on the patients; newspapers and illustrated periodicals on the tables in all the wards. In the fortress, guns, and carriages, the piles of shot and shell were dusty and rusty. The General told me that Fortress Monroe when he came in was in a filthy, neglected condition, but that he was busy getting things in order. "Who could believe that these villains would ever venture to take up arms against our government? Look at their audacity! Look at their flag flying at Sewell's Point opposite. I intend to astonish them when I get that pretty little piece (a Rodman gun) mounted, though it is not by masses of iron this contest can be decided, but by points of steel directed by superior intelligence."

From Fortress Monroe we went in a steamer to Newport News and the Federal camp. Colonel Phelps, a tall, saturnine, fierce-eyed, stern man, who regarded slave-owners as licentious, godless people, joined us, an excellent type of the chief of a Puritan regiment. I dined with the General and had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Butler, his wife, the officers of his staff and others. After coffee the General ordered horses to visit his advanced posts at Hampton. Very good mounts, indeed, with which we set off, accompanied by an aid-de-camp and a couple of orderlies. There was a rabblement of negroes, "the Contrabands," outside the fort, who with absurd bows, scrapes, and gestures hailed their protector. "Just look!" said the General, "everyone of these represents the loss of a thousand dollars at least to the chivalry over the way." "Nasty, dirty, idle beasts!" said his aide-de-camp *sotto voce;* "I wish to heaven they were all at the bottom of the Chesapeake." A most interesting ride to Hampton—a quaint old-fashioned country town of red brick houses. The church, the first built in Virginia, by the English colonists. Many tombstones bore the names of British subjects who had died ere the great rebellion could destroy their notions of loyalty, or their

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ears could be assailed by the thunder of French ordnance, mingled with the roar of the guns of Washington's colonials, against the entrenchments at Yorktown. And there was General Butler standing on the wall of the cemetery and pointing to the woods whence the rebel cavalry of Virginia issued to attack the forces of H. M. "the Union."

The General sent orders to have a transport ready to take me to Washington, but it was 11 o'clock at night ere she was ready. Next day, July 15, and the next day till 7 o'clock in the evening was passed on the river, and it was with great difficulty that I persuaded the captain to land me at Annapolis.

McDowell, all alone, was standing on the platform at Washington. "Did you hear or see anything of two batteries of artillery at Annapolis?" I thought it a very curious question from the Commander-in-Chief of the Federal army at such a moment. But he explained to me that he had no officer to spare for the duty, so he had come in from camp, as the guns were very urgently needed.

I had returned just in the nick of time. The Federal Army had already moved out from its standing camp on the right side of the Potomac towards the Southern Army, which had advanced towards Fairfax Court House, and McDowell was straining every nerve to carry out the imperative order, "On to Richmond." He was not sorry to get away from politicians and the capital, but he was not confident of success, for he was aware of the defects of his troops, and he spoke with some diffidence of himself. "I do not know what sort of a general I shall make, and I am rather afraid of being under your solar microscope, but I shall do my best, and no one can do more." Then he spoke of his difficulties. "There is a legion of correspondents to be kept in order, and I have little or no control over them. I have suggested that they should wear a white uniform to identify them and indicate the innocence and purity of their business, but they don't like it, and they are very angry because I have insisted on each of them having a pass. They ask for all kinds of information on vital matters. I can tell *you* things which it would be ruinous to publish in Washington or New York, as it would be known to the enemy in a few hours, whereas it would be a fortnight before they could hear it from London. I am not allowed to work out my own plans.

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General Scott has his, and General Mansfield suggests one thing and Simon Cameron another, and I am urged by Senators, Congressmen, and newspaper editors to attack Beauregard at once, though I show them I am not ready because I have not got what I want, and wish for a day's grace. There is, indeed, I admit, one reason for immediate action. Some battalions threaten to leave because the end of their three months' engagement is near at hand, but I hope they will not be base enough to leave the army when they are within touch of the enemy."

I have never met anyone who gave me a stronger impression of honesty and sincerity than Irwin McDowell. He was then in the prime of life—forty or forty-five years old—powerfully built, but rather ponderous in movement—kindly and simple in manner, with a very pleasant soldierly face—a water drinker and almost a vegetarian. After the cruel war was over, I met him one day in some foreign city—Vienna, I think—and as we were conversing he said: "Strange, isn't it, our encounter to-day?" "Why so, General?" "Have you forgotten? This is the 21st of July—the anniversary of Bull Run. Had I won that battle, I would have been one of the most popular men in the United States and you would have been another. I need not say how much it is the other way with us now." But I do not think his countrymen blamed him after all. When I went to the United States some years ago I found him in command at San Francisco—much changed, aged, and sad, but courteous and kindly as ever. I told him that I had in a place of honor at home the photograph which he gave me before he left my lodgings the day he was looking for Barry's guns. "And I suppose," he said, "your friends ask, 'Who on earth was General McDowell?'"

July 18. Rose early. A squadron of regular cavalry was clattering down the avenue toward the Bridge, groups of excited people in the streets, orderlies galloping to and fro. I hurried to General Mansfield and met him, straw hat, uniform coat open, on the stairs. 'There is bad news from the front! That fellow Tyler has been engaged and we are whipped.' And he hastened off to General Scott's. In the street I met Senator Sumner radiant. "We have had a great success! The rebels are falling back in all directions! General Scott tells me we ought to be in Richmond by Saturday night."

Before I left for Fortress Monroe I had given commissions to my friends and every livery stable keeper in Washington to get me

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a couple of saddle-horses and a draft animal. Not one was ready for me, and though I had no kingdom to give, I was ready to offer the half of what I had for a horse. At the War Office, at the State Department, at the White House, every one I wanted to see was engaged. But at last I heard from Cullum that McDowell had occupied Fairfax Court House. I called on Lord Lyons, who, as was his wont, rubbed his leg vigorously. "These happy, prosperous people," he said, "are bent on fighting within a day's march of the capital of the great Republic!" It was curious how little of what was going on Lord Lyons appeared to know. Was he really ignorant or did he pretend to be so? Certainly his sympathies were with the executive of the state to which he was accredited, but Mr. Seward sought to extort declarations respecting the action of great Britain in regard to a conflict which had only just begun, as though it were closed by the triumph of the North. The other ministers took the situation each in his own way. M. Mercier, the Frenchman, was vivacious, interested, and well informed. He had much to say on both sides. General Stoeckl, the Russian, rubbed his hands gently and did not disguise his belief that the great experiment of the Conscript Fathers had failed. "*Actum est de Republica.*" Signor Tessara evinced on proper occasions the liveliest satisfaction at the prospect of a mortal rent in the power which had shown itself so tyrannous and strong in relations with the country which he represented. The South American representatives were in a state of decently suppressed exultation. Mr. Roost Van Limbourg deftly avoiding any expression of opinion, longed for the return of the quiet evenings when his gilded saloons were the resort of pleasant people who were fond of whist, poker, and polite society! Between them all and the President Mr. Seward placed his official person.

Families sat, in the old Dutch fashion, on the stoops of their houses, groups continuously reinforced by people fresh from some centre of intelligence, while others drifted away to join another family circle. At Mr. Carroll's I found Mr. Monson and Mr. Warre, of the Legation. The pleasant little Commander Wise, U. S. N., was telling them of the tremendous mischief that would be wrought by a steam ram 480 feet long with a speed of 25 knots an hour. I had seen it at the Navy Yard. But, alas! it was only a model!

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When I returned in the evening to my quarters, there was a man before the door holding a tall, dark bay horse with unmistakable spavin and ring bone. "This will just fix you, I think. I will take a thousand dollars for him; not a cent less!" I demurred. "Well," he said, "I heard of chaps that paid more to hear Jenny Lind sing. If you want to see the fight, a thousand dollars is cheap! The battle won't be repeated, I can tell you." After one hour's negotiation it was settled that a gig with two horses and a saddle-horse were to be at my door at dawn of day on July 21st.

I called on everybody I knew in the forenoon, and at 12 o'clock I drove down to the Senate, where a Senator from California was on the floor delivering an elaborate lecture on the political affairs of the Republic. One of the officers of the House came in with a note from General McDowell to tell me "the army would advance very early next morning, left in front." At the same time a note was delivered to a Senator, who left his seat to communicate its contents to others who hastened to hear them. All was confusion. The President hammered again and again vigorously and called for order in vain. Presently Mr. Hay, the President's Secretary, appeared with a message to the Senate. I asked if the news that McDowell had carried Bull Run was true. He replied that the President knew nothing about it, and that General Scott was equally ignorant. The Senate was fast emptying. I had no time to lose.

Between General Scott, Colonel Cullum, and others, I gathered that McDowell had intended to make a feint against the centre of the Southerners whilst he threw the mass of his forces against their extreme right by a wide turning movement to get possession of Manassas in their rear, but he found the country too difficult, and so was obliged to form a fresh scheme of attack. But General Tyler, who had been ordered to reconnoitre, got some regiments under heavy fire and they retired in confusion. It is of no use now to mention regiments whose alacrity in getting away was conspicuous. "What a pity old Scott has not got legs! He would be good for a big thing yet if he could move!" said Cullum.

There was great joy in Washington, where nearly all the shopkeepers, barkeepers, restaurateurs, men and women, were for the South. Some of the heroes of the battle were already at Boulanger's. One lanky lieutenant was in much request.

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"How many do you suppose was killed, lieutenant?"

"Sir, it is my honest belief that there was not less than etc., etc. You might walk for five hours by the side of the Run and not be able to put your foot on the ground."

"Was the dead that thick, Lieutenant?"

"No, sir! But the dead *and* the wounded together."

Officers and soldiers who ought to have been in front with their regiments were in the bar-rooms; many were abject skulkers.

I went to obtain Lord Lyons's consent that Mr. Warre should accompany me to start that night over Long Bridge to overtake the army. It was necessary to have a pass. I walked to General Scott's and was handed passes by one of his aides; but when I said that we intended to cross at once the aide-de-camp told me that the passes were not valid between tattoo and daybreak unless we had the countersign, and only the General himself could give that. "Will you ask him for it?" "The General is asleep, sir. I dare not disturb him." We returned through the silent streets and I got to bed at midnight.

The 21st of July was a day ever to be remembered; *dies carbone notanda,* indeed. My experiences are written in the chronicles of the time.

We started late, which was not my fault. By the time we reached Centreville, where there was a crowd of Congressmen, some on horses, some in carriages, a few ladies, and many civilians, the attack on Beauregard was well developed, and after a brief survey of the scene, I mounted the led horse, which was full of spirit and mettle, and rode down the road. I told Mr. Warre that I would return before dusk to the place where we had left the gig in charge of the boy. Of the actual battle I saw nothing; of the results I saw too much. I was unfortunate enough to meet the first wave of the retreat, and to be involved in the panic rout of an army. When I got to the spot where the gig had been left it was not to be seen. Mr. Warre, joined by Mr. Vizetelly, the artist, seeing the flight of masses of the Federal army making for the road toward Centreville, judged it expedient to drive back to Washington with my groom an hour and a half before I reached the place, leaving me to ride back on a horse which had already done more than thirty miles, and had twenty-seven to do, with no light weight on his back. It was about 11 o'clock at night when I crossed the Long Bridge and rode into Washington. The

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gig and its occupants had arrived three hours before me. That night I sat down to write with a heavy heart. I was anxious if possible to send off some account of what I had seen by the Boston mail which started on Wednesday. And here let me say that had I been able to finish a despatch that night I would have stated that McDowell had been repulsed and that a panic had ensued among a portion of his troops; but that the Federal army would take up a strong position between Centreville and Fairfax Court House and resume the offensive. I had not the smallest idea of the greatness of the defeat, of the magnitude of the disaster, or that a long interval would elapse ere another army could set out from the banks of the Potomac to essay a march to Richmond. But with the morning came the truth. The Federal army almost *en masse*—or rather in disjointed masses—had crossed the Potomac and were tramping in torrents of rain down Pennsylvania Avenue. Men from New York, Michigan, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Minnesota mingled together, many without knapsacks, cross-belts or firelocks. All day the stream flowed on, dammed up here and there in front of spirit stores. The President and the Secretary of State sat in the telegraph operator's room in the White House till the fatal words "full retreat" were ticked off by the needle. Then they awaited events. It was, or seemed to be, merely a question of hours rather than days when Beauregard would lead the Southern army into Washington.

I did not hesitate to communicate my own impressions at the British Legation. The Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, had borrowed from Lord Lyons a British flag with which to decorate his office in honor of the Queen's birthday. The Minister now thought that it would be wise to hoist the standard over his Legation, and sent for the flag; but it was nowhere to be found. As it happened, there was no necessity for its display; for Washington, though in danger, was never attacked, far less occupied. It will remain a subject for discussion whether the Confederate troops could have seized the capital. It can scarcely be doubted that the transfer of the seat of the government of the Confederate States from Richmond to Washington would have produced an extraordinary change, if not in the ultimate result of the contest, at all events in the great Northern cities and some of the Western States, where there were sections strongly in favor of the

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South, whilst Maryland and New York would have probably thrown all their weight upon the side of a compromise. The Emperor of the French would have had, at all events, additional arguments to urge in favor of the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and the hands of the considerable party in England who were urgent in the same direction would have been greatly strengthened.

If the North Atlantic States and the great agricultural States had gone solid for the Union, it would have been scarcely possible for Mr. Davis and the other leaders of the slave States to resist the weight of the white race inhabiting the Federal States in many more millions than the whole of the South could muster black and white. It is now useless to speculate on matters of the kind.

Beauregard's troops had had no long marches, nor were their losses heavy. It seemed as if there was no impediment to their occupation of the capital. But afterwards it transpired that they were not in a condition to advance. There was an earth-work on the right side of the river near the Georgetown bridge which was occupied by the Sixty-ninth Regiment. Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Seward, and I think Mr. Cameron, repaired there to encourage the garrison to stand firm and to resist Beauregard's forces.

W. H. RUSSELL.

(*To be Continued.*)

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF RESISTANCE.

IN many of the systems of education now in vogue the attempt is made, and with more or less success, to remove as far as possible the obstacles from the course of study. The student is carefully led over a path from which the stones have been taken away, and the holes filled up. There are no briars to scratch the legs or hold one back, no puzzling divergence of other roads, no pit-falls into which to tumble, no blind paths which end abruptly in mud-flats or against apparently unscalable cliffs. There are no sudden vistas of unexpected regions quite foreign to the environment. On every side everything seems to accord with and indicate the advance along the suggested lines. Briefly, the environment is made entirely favorable to the development of the student.

While I do not for a moment question the value and the advisability of a definite system in education, and the importance of systematically and intelligently guiding the student in his courses of study, it is an open question whether the environment may not be made too favorable for his best intellectual development. The conditions of actual life must not be lost sight of, for an education that does not fit one for the fullest and best development under the conditions of real life is not a good education. It is worse than that; it is a bad education, for the student is deceived and misled as to the real nature of his work and his hopes. His awakening is a bitter one, and there will be neither love nor respect in his feelings toward those who have sent him forth so ill-equipped for the real battle of life. As I have said in another place*—"The visitor from the other world might reasonably ask 'How are your people taught about themselves, about the world of which they are factors, about their habits of life, principles of morality, and right relations to each other?' To which we might answer, 'By hard knocks, by finding that life is intensely earnest, by failure; too little, alas! by success.' We might point, also, to the dark shadows that these words throw, and which cover so many broken aspirations, dead feelings, and lost hopes. There is the battlefield on to which we rushed with colors flying, waving our swords and blowing our penny trumpets, until the 'dark tower' echoed back the feeble din. Then came at us creatures that we knew not; huge beasts, crawling reptiles, stinging gnats, and rough men with jagged clubs; they struck us and bit us, broke our swords, split our penny trumpets, trampled our colors in the mire; until, disheartened and disabled, we crawled away on sore hands and bruised knees as best we could. Aye, and

* "Manual and Sense Training." *Scientific American Supplement*, No. 1026.

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some remained on the field. Then we turned back and asked of those who sent us to do battle, 'Was it fair, was it just, not to tell us of these foes and dangers?' But those who sent us answered not."

In actual life a point is soon reached when one must depend almost entirely upon himself for guidance. The path is full of stones, rut, pitfalls, and mud. Briars beset it; diverging paths perplex one; precipices and cliffs confront one unexpectedly, and well beaten roads, which lead through fields of daisies and other pretty but worthless weeds, tempt the weary and the weak. Then there are the marshes and the forests where there are no paths at all, and where insects or wild beasts harass the struggler and make progress difficult and dangerous. Sooner or later in his progress through life, every man must face a determined resistance. Whether he can overcome it or not no one can decide but himself.

The best things which one does are what he does himself without guidance from another. Encouragement, sympathy, and assistance one craves as a thirsty man cries for water; but the force and guidance which lead to real success must be one's own. The men who make the greatest successes are not those who have had the most guidance, but those who either by environment or instruction have had the best development. But no man should fail to appreciate the true worth of sympathy, encouragement, and assistance of the right kind. These are, however, really a part of his armament. Unfortunate is the man who has them not.

The finest nature is the one out of which the dross has been squeezed by painful pressure, and the precious metal has been hammered and beaten into shape. The human being rarely works more than he has to. He appreciates by instinct an easy thing — what college students call a "snap." Some of the strongest points of our natures are best called out by resistance. An emergency rises; people wring their hands and cry out not knowing what to do. There steps out from the ranks some man, perhaps unknown to those who think themselves the leaders, who seems created to meet the emergency. His success does not come from what is often called "an opportunity," the easy chance that so many seek in the hope of proving their merit. It is the exact reverse of this; the favoring chance is an increase in the element of resistance. It is this in minds of high potentiality that develops the kinetic quality which overcomes obstacles. Without this element of resistance such minds may remain unknown, and the world might never know the hero or the leader. An idle purling rill may seem nothing more than an ornament to a landscape, but oppose it unintelligently and it may rise till it sweeps all before it. And the same stream may be so opposed that its accumulated energy will yield a power to energize a great industry.

This element of resistance in education should never be overlooked. Men value things, and rightly, by what must be done to acquire them. Everything in life has a price of some kind. In the acquisition of intellectual property promissory notes do not count. In the barter between intellect and knowledge only cash transactions pay interest. To eliminate the element of difficulty from a study is an act of dishonesty. It deceives the student as to the real nature and arduousness of the subject. For a teacher to think for a student is a pedagogical crime. But when a teacher thinks before a student he teaches. To train the elements of his mind and to teach him how to think, how to utilize knowledge to produce knowledge, how to attack and conquer obstacles like a gallant soldier, full of pluck, enthusiasm

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and endurance is a pedagogical ideal. If one will be anything of real value in this life one must learn that in all one will do that can be fairly called one's own, not only obstacles have to be removed, but a strong and steady resistance to progress will have to be recognized and overcome. This resistance may be of so many different kinds that it cannot be classified or considered in a few pages. But it will soon make itself felt and will determine clearly and fully before the jury of mankind if the man is to be a soldier or a camp-follower.

That for every fact gained in education a certain amount of work has to be given should always appear distinctly. That a large amount of knowledge calls for hard work of an uninteresting nature should not be allowed to drop out of sight. The practice side of almost any study is not interesting. To spell correctly, to write good English, to obtain accuracy in observation or in scientific or any kind of work, to play well a musical instrument, to compose good music, to draw or paint well, to reason clearly, to be able to use satisfactorily any kind of knowledge, or to get the best results from one's ability or genius—each of these things demands long and tedious repetition and practice; and this is not exciting or interesting and cannot be made so. This repugnance constitutes one of the numerous forms of resistance offered to success in human endeavor. It is the enthusiasm and absorbing love of the goal in distant view—the land of milk and honey—that inspires the weary traveller and makes the drudgery seem light because there is no doubt that it is the bridge to success. However plain this can be made to men, it is by no means easy to make it clear to a child or a boy. The teacher who can quicken the immature minds of youths with the first rays of the luminous possibilities in them, who can encourage students to overcome the difficulties in their studies themselves by inciting an interest in the studies, he is the successful teacher to whom men look back with feelings akin to adoration. There have been and there are such teachers—fishers of men, makers of minds. The honors of this life must be won, as the Germans say (and how well the progress of that nation illustrates it) "*mit saurem Schweiss*," and by the application of another German proverb, "*Geduld bricht Eisen.*"

The coddled youngster, who is always led by the teacher, lifted over all the holes, sheltered from all the rain-drops, and who gets prizes which he has not earned, sooner or later finds his guide has left him for another party, and that he has no more chance of winning in the race than a jellyfish matched against a pike. To the adroit scamps, who fringe society, these glue-brained, self adhesive,* pap-fed, juvenile capons furnish delectable picking. Just which holes to lift him over, into which ones he may be allowed to tumble, just how far he may be exposed to the weather, just when he may have a lollipop that he does not altogether deserve, just how and when and to what extent work should be tempered with play, are matters between which the right discrimination indicates the true teacher as contrasted with the scholastic marionette.

The chief value in sport, in my opinion, lies in the effect that it has in developing the feeling that resistance must be overcome. The best knowledge at one's disposal is concentrated: self-control is cultivated because its absence plainly prevents the best use of one's resources and discounts the chance of success. Card games, billiards, etc., all have this valuable educational feature, aside from many other points in their favor. One of the most

* Or in the slang of the day, "stuck on themselves."

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valuable features of wholesome athletics in the educational curriculum is the emphasis of the idea of resistance. The whole physical and intellectual organization of the boy is aroused and concentrated on winning success against determined resistance. To achieve this success he must practice self-control, use all his energies to the fullest, and utilize and not antagonize those who try to assist him. Under the proper conditions, the athletic field may be made an important factor in educational development.

In the development of character in the youth the wise instructor finds the application of this principle most useful and efficient. Not only is energy developed, but it is trained, and the ability to concentrate the mental forces is sustained. Will-power is acquired. The acquirement of self-control, by which I mean not only the ability to control the passions but also to compel the action of the mental powers upon a given subject is aided. I think there is no doubt that self-control is the most difficult of all qualities to develop, and that its lack is the commonest cause of failure of men and women. The German historian, von Ranke, has stated as a principle in human development that "all progress is through conflict." The proper recognition of this principle in education is, I am convinced, of great importance. It is not to be understood, however, as a mere desire to vanquish others or a vainglorious display of one's superior powers; but rather that an element of resistance is required to incite mental effort of the best kind. The results become of value because they have a value in work. In direct relation to the difficulty of obtaining them lies the value of intellectual gems.

PETER TOWNSEND AUSTEN.

A SIMPLE SOLUTION OF THE SHIPPING QUESTION.

WHILE the awkwardness of an attempt to restore the American merchant marine by means of discriminating duties is manifest to all, the misleading nature of certain claims advanced in behalf of this policy by its most enthusiastic advocates can be fully appreciated only by the careful student of commercial history.

As a matter of fact the claim that discriminating duties built up our merchant fleet of the olden time is untrue—the most that rightly may be said being that discriminating duties were among the forces acting upon commerce at the time of its early development under our flag. The exact effect produced by these duties must always remain a subject for disputes, but that they were adopted for defensive and not for offensive purposes is clear from the records of Congress.

Therefore, when it is proposed to restore discriminating duties for the purpose of attacking the commercial interests of a neighbor, and not "with a view to countervail similar exclusions" (John Quincy Adams, First Message to Congress), as was the case when we first put this policy in force, an experiment is proposed—an experiment the objections to which are too numerous to be given here.

But in that early legislation of which discriminating duties formed a part was a law which not only gave important pecuniary aid to our shipping, but which now suggests the most available method of enabling American ships to engage in foreign trade; *viz.*: tonnage dues. For since it is an admitted fact (see Lloyd's Register) that the unaided English ships

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are not able to compete successfully with the Norwegian and other cheaply manned craft, it is evident that free ships can be of no possible benefit to us, so far as regaining a part of the foreign carrying trade is concerned, unless we reduce our sailing expenses to the level reached by such competitors; and since this method of achieving success is not in accordance with the present policy of this country, it follows that some legislative aid must be had to give American ships an equivalent advantage—and the tonnage tax is the least objectionable form which it can take.

Our first Congress provided for a tax of fifty cents per ton upon every foreign vessel entering our ports, American craft paying but six cents—an indirect bounty of forty-four cents per ton in our favor. The re-enactment of this law, as has been urged by some, would doubtless assist our ships in the foreign trade, but such re-enactment is not advisable, for reasons which appear in the objections urged against discriminating duties. Yet this old law, slightly changed, offers the solution of this shipping problem—a tonnage tax of fifty cents imposed on American and foreign craft alike, the fund thus collected to be expended in sailing bounties paid to all vessels engaged in the foreign trade according to the number of miles sailed with cargo.

For reference to Vol. II., "Commerce and Navigation of the United States, 1896," page 1415, shows that 20,989,184 tons of foreign and 5,196,320 tons of American shipping entered ports of the United States during that year—four tons of foreign to one ton of domestic shipping. If, therefore, a tax of fifty cents per ton had been imposed on American and foreign alike (and to such an act no sort of objection could, with any semblance of justice, be raised), the foreigner would have paid four-fifths of all the tonnage tax imposed, or $10,494,592. As every nation has an indubitable right to pay its vessels sailing bounties (a right now liberally exercised by some of our competitors), this sum might have been distributed in the shape of such bounties, and, including all American vessels which were either wholly or partly engaged in the foreign trade, would have yielded an average bounty of $12.44 per ton for the year.

The proposed method of raising this fund makes its equitable distribution a simple matter—a given amount (to be determined at the beginning of each year by the Bureau of Navigation, basing calculations on the tonnage and entries of the preceding year) being paid per ton for each mile sailed with cargo; the steamer's advantage in speed being offset by more frequent payment of dues, one rate of payment can be applied to all and thus the old disputes as to what constitutes a just division of sailing bounties cannot be reasonably resumed. The rate for 1896 would have been, in round numbers, one dollar per net ton for each 3,000 miles sailed, steamers and sailing craft being paid the same rate.

Since sailing vessels would be limited to one and steamers to two tonnage payments per month, the short-voyage craft would be placed under no disadvantages, while a premium would be placed on long voyages; and thus, instead of clearing but 429,224 tons of American shipping from Europe (about one tenth the amount we cleared from Canada and other North American ports), our ocean carrying would increase; and since one-half the tonnage bounty which would have been produced by the entries of 1896 would pay ten per cent. on the vessel's cost, it is evident that we may increase our tonnage engaged in the European and other long-voyage traffic more than tenfold before the decrease in foreign entries and increase

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in the number of tons sharing in this bounty will reduce the rate below ten per cent. of the vessel's cost.

As so large a part of the vessels recorded as engaged in the foreign trade are merely coasting craft unfit for off-shore service, a fleet of modern ships would be required and a great impulse to shipbuilding would be given. Yet the system is self-adjusting—as soon as our fleet reaches a size sufficient for the needs of our commerce, the bounties will become so small that there will be no temptation to excessive building.

And this system aids vessels when carrying cargoes from the United States, does not require any change in treaties, does not disturb our tariff adjustments, and can be put in force at once—none of which advantages can be claimed for discriminating duties.

Details are easily arranged: the building of steamers suitable for use as cruisers can be encouraged by providing for payment of bounties on two-thirds of their gross tonnage.

This is but a brief explanation of a measure which has been shaped after long and careful study of our own and foreign conditions. It is submitted as the simplest and most satisfactory solution of the shipping problem which present conditions will permit.

EDWARD C. PLUMMER.

A DEMOCRATIC ARISTOCRACY, OR VOLUNTARY SERVITUDE.

THERE is such a thing in history as the arrival of a nation at the bottom of a *cul de sac*—a logical *impasse*. It becomes impossible to proceed further without running against a blank wall—there is no thoroughfare.

The social problem in America has something of this aspect; the question is how to extricate ourselves from an impossible situation. We have committed ourselves to two opposite and mutually destructive principles—have supposed it possible to go on living our lives according to ancient moral ideas, whilst adopting a social and political philosophy that is modern and revolutionary.

Ancient society was solidly based on the consistent principles, first, that men are of social importance in proportion to what they make of themselves, and second, that the great mass of men that make nothing of themselves worth mentioning, are of no social importance at all except as the bearers of rude burdens for the superior class.

Modern society in general, and American society in particular, is insecurely based because it is based on inconsistent principles. We go on asserting in the anachronistic way the ancient moral theory of the self-made man, whilst denying the necessary consequence of that theory—which is caste.

The moral drama of the age is the futile attempt to reconcile ancient culture and privilege with modern science and humility. Our social predicament is entirely modern; there is nothing like it in the experience of antiquity. One may well fancy that the citizens of an ancient "democracy"—say that of Athens in the days of Pericles, wherein there were half a dozen unconsidered drudges to every citizen—would have raised a great shout of derision if anyone had proposed in their assembly that coarse labor should be esteemed honorable or that all men should be equal before the law. And if it could have been whispered to Plato that after 2,000 years and more a democracy in the West should wrestle with the problem how to perpetuate a society constituted, despite great differences of names and customs, substan-

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tially like his own Athens—of two well-marked classes, but saturated through and through with the doctrine of human equality—he would, one may be sure, have smiled at our simplicity and would have explained that our only safety lay in denying the doctrine of equality in the most uncompromising terms and getting back with all speed to the ancient order. But if he could have been told further that his remedy was impossible of application, that this doctrine of equality was not a philosophic abstraction, but the political expression of a profound moral conviction that had been growing in the hearts of both the privileged and the unprivileged for more than eighteen hundred years, that it was too late to turn back, that the mass of the people would never submit to be told that their lives had meaning only with reference to the lives of an upper class, that the upper class itself would not, could not, accept the teaching, that the world was absolutely and finally committed to the tremendous thesis that there is a sacredness and worth in life quite apart from wealth and culture, and that, in consideration of the depth and mystery of this common element in human nature, the differences that grow out of personal achievements were coming to seem unimportant—if Plato could have been told all this, I am inclined to think that he would have risen to the emergency, and would have counselled that in such circumstances it might be well to consider whether this Christian theory, having shown such extraordinary power to turn the world into confusion and contradiction, might not contain within itself the principle of restoration—whether, in short, it might not be better for society to try the Christian theory further, and even to give it a clean sweep rather than die of the contradiction.

It is Christianity that has engendered in the people this ineradicable feeling of the value of life, the feeling that the commonest and poorest life has an inestimable worth in itself and cannot be regarded as merely ancillary to the life of another. It is this feeling that has motived the age long struggle for civil liberty, and that has in the Nineteenth Century culminated in democracy. But this feeling is the product of a partial and superficial Christianity; the deeper content of Christianity is the teaching that civil liberty is valuable only as preparing the way for a higher and more interior liberty—the liberty of self-devotion. Christianity has abolished involuntary servitude and established civil liberty in order that—being freed from the compulsion to serve—men may rise to the moral eminence of voluntary servitude. And this profounder word of Christianity is now in due process of spiritual evolution, the order of the day, the word of omen and prophecy for the Twentieth Century, the power of God for the renewal of the nations and the fulfilment of the moral significance of democracy.

Consider whether there be any other possible resource. Doubtless there are those that suppose it possible, through educational and refining processes, to carry the whole of the working class over into the condition of the class called cultivated. These fail to see, what is however a plain fact, that the maintenance of the cultivated class in the physical condition of that class as we find it in America to-day requires the existence of a class whose lives shall be ergrossed in irksome labor. It is fair to warn the benevolent people who are striving in so many ingenious ways to "elevate the masses" that if they should ever succeed in doing it, they would certainly have to blacken their own shoes and they might be obliged to carry in their own coal. If everybody had an easy competency there would be a great dearth of cooks, and if we each and all kept a carriage, none of us could keep a coachman.

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The essential thing about riches is not so much the possession of things as the possession of power over persons. And the only way to release the poor from the constraint of that power is for the rich to take upon their own shoulders some portion of the burdens that have been laid upon the poor.

Again, it is coming to be fashionable to suppose that socialism offers us a means of escape from our predicament.

But it must be borne in mind that our social problem is not primarily an economic problem. The root of the difficulty is not that the working-class is intolerably miserable, nor is it that they have set their hearts on fine tailoring and five-course dinners; the root of the difficulty is caste; the brand of social inferiority, the dealing with the labor of men as if it were a commodity, and the contempt of life involved in such dealing. The great strikes of the last few years have been carried on, not principally to get more wages—the vital interest and passion of the struggle have invariably centered in some matter touching the self-respect of the workmen, and their right to deal with their employers as with equals. It would be as true to say that the Revolutionary War was fought for cheap tea as to say that the labor question is only or principally a question of wages. The remark of that very keen observer, M. de Tocqueville, that Americans care more for equality even than for liberty, has had a good deal of justification in the "sympathetic" strikes of recent years, wherein multitudes of American workingmen have cheerfully subjected themselves to the regimentation of labor unions and have made great material sacrifices to maintain the right of dealing with capitalists on equal terms.

The question is, then, Can socialism abolish caste? and the answer is plainly no. A socialistic government that should stop short of communism could be nothing other than a huge "syndicate" controlled by a privileged class. And a socialistic government that should go on to its logical conclusion in coercive communism would stand as the denial of all that the world has been learning for several thousand years. Community of goods enforced by the policeman, stands in the sharpest possible opposition to that voluntary and fraternal community of goods which is illustrated in the early church. The communism of the morning of Christianity is a simple and reasonable expression of the principle that the life is more than meat; but a regimentated, bureaucratic, police-court communism, resorted to at the end of the ages as the solution of a desperate class-question, would be the very carnival of envy and greed—a culminating triumph of the animal over the man.

The only solution of the social problem is voluntary servitude. It is necessary that there be raised up among us a class of persons of superior capacity, who might enjoy the privileges and immunities of an upper class who shall willingly submit to the conditions of life that are imposed upon the lower class. It seems not unreasonable to believe that were there but ten thousand such persons in the United States they would suffice—through the prevalence of that moral authority which is always commanding, and in the long run irresistible—to put such a check upon the universal struggle for privilege and promotion that the fatal schism should not be wrought in us. And so might the nation go on to the accomplishment of the moral ends of democracy; and Europe, looking our way, might take heart and follow our leading. The stake is immeasurably great.

I do not speak of self-sacrifice, because I readily concede that self-sacrifice, in an absolute sense, is uncalled for, and is perhaps inconceivable.

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The motive power of this devotion must be a profounder conception of the meaning of life—a *renaissance* of faith, an achievement of spiritual liberty.

It is, perhaps, impossible to say what shall be the terms of the servitude into which men are thus willingly to enter. Certainly the gist of the matter is not mere digging or the wearing of hob-nailed shoes—these things may or may not have a place in the programme.

The essential thing is a vital humility and abhorrence of privilege—a perception that social advantages are in truth disadvantages, that culture is overfine or underfine unless it be wrought out in labor and experience, unless it begin with an inner passion of faith and a sacrificial devotion to the concrete ideal.

Such an aristocracy is the necessary complement of democracy. If it come not, democracy must be given up. But let us not yet give it up. Our way out of the blind alley is to rise to the highest occasion of history, and mount over the walls.

CHARLES FERGUSON.

PROFIT-SHARING AND DOMESTIC SERVICE, AS DISCUSSED AT A WOMAN'S CLUB.

THE subject of the paper that day was Profit Sharing—an admirable condensation of Gilman and other authorities, with pertinent comments by the writer. The paper was followed by a brief consideration of the many antidotes which have been advocated as panaceas for industrial discontent—"the malady of the age threatening to retard civilization"—arbitration, productive co-operation, strikes, socialism, etc.—each shown to be a failure compared with the infallible remedy that Profit Sharing promised to be. One speaker said that the review of the prescriptions for industrial discontent reminded her of that custom of ancient Babylon—the taking of the sick into the market-place that every passer-by might pass an opinion upon the malady and prescribe a cure, the majority to have control of the sufferer. For the fever of industrial discontent with which all hand-workers were said to be more or less afflicted, she could believe that the popular remedy was Profit Sharing. What she wanted to know was if Profit Sharing was sufficient for all forms of industrial discontent? Was it equal to that malignant type with which housekeepers were so familiar, usually called *the servant trouble?* Had it ever been tried in the kitchen? Would some one of the club members who had made an exhaustive study of Profit Sharing, and knew all the details of a system demonstrated in the *Bon Marché* of Paris, inform the housekeepers who had little leisure for study, and had well-nigh lost hope of having their lot improved until the Millennium came in, if they, the distressed housekeepers, might safely build any expectations upon Profit Sharing as the cure for industrial discontent in domestic service? Her heart had been strangely thrilled at hearing of a working man in one of the great Profit Sharing mercantile concerns who had reproved a fellow-laborer for breaking something by saying: "Be careful; don't you know that costs *us* five dollars?" She had foreseen what the exercise of such spirit would mean in her kitchen, what it would be if her china could be handled as if it belonged to *us*, and what might result when frugality in groceries and gas was put upon a business basis.

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If it could be done in the factory, the big store, why not in the home? Had it ever been tried? That was what she most of all wanted to know.

Only one woman had ever known of Profit Sharing as applied to housework. But she could not give the details of what had proved eminently successful. A friend of hers, some ten years ago, had made a careful estimate of what she could pay yearly for her housekeeping expenses—her service, table, etc.—and had offered to pay her housemaid that amount in monthly payments, upon conditions specified in a carefully worded contract, signed by both parties. All that the housemaid could save of the allowance was to be her own. She had to replace loss by breakage, and see that the work was always well done. The partnership had been an exceptionally happy one, the housemaid following her mistress, who as the wife of an itinerary had moved from city to city, from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast.

Now, who can give another illustration of Profit Sharing as applied to domestic service? And the figures, please? Is it in Profit Sharing that help cometh to housekeepers at last? Then why not a movement in the women's clubs hastening its approach—stopping what threatens to be a general stampede to boarding-houses and hotels? If Profit Sharing is really the cure for industrial discontent, then may it not be applied wherever there is a symptom of the disorder? Who will tell housekeepers how to introduce it and give it practical trial?

JANE MARSH PARKER.

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